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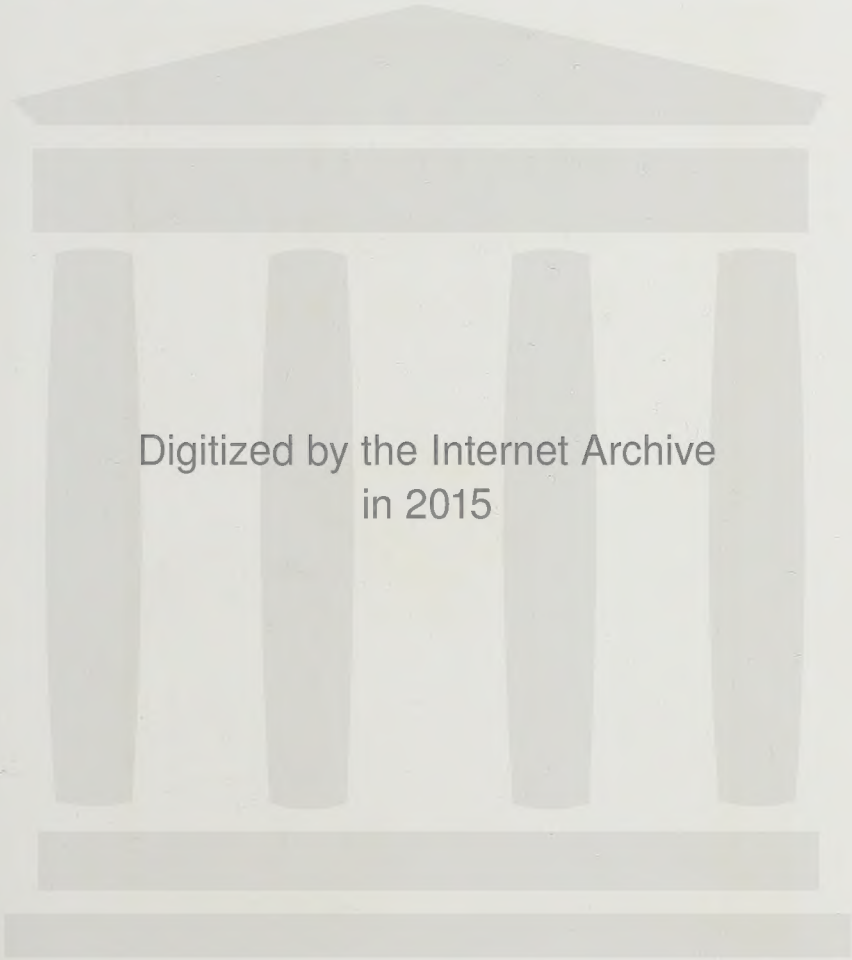
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THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are $3.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership may be secured upon the payment of $50.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $4.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.00 each plus postage. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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Cover. The design on the outside front cover is the central design seen on the Oklahoma State Flag. This shows an Osage warrior's shield of buffalo rawhide, fringed with pendant eagle feathers; superimposed across the face of the shield, the red man's calumet, or pipe of peace, and the white man's olive branch. The small crosses on the shield are the Indian's graphic sign for stars, which may indicate a purpose for high endeavor.

LIEUTENANT AVERELL'S RIDE AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

By Muriel H. Wright

One of the most significant accounts telling of the exciting events on the frontier of the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, at the outbreak of the Civil War was Lieutenant Averell's description of his fast journey from Washington, D. C., to Fort Smith, Arkansas, and his wild ride west toward Fort Arbuckle in April, 1861, carrying a special order from the War Department for the withdrawal of all the United States troops from the midst of the Indian nations in this Territory. Military protection from invasion, or from enemies within the borders of their lands had been promised by the United States, in treaties with the five great, southern tribes—Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole—when they had been removed by the Government to this part of the west thirty years before. The withdrawal of the forces of the United States Army was an event that was far reaching in the history of the West as the Indian Territory was a strategic region between the North and the South, in the War just beginning.[1]

Recently hospitalized from wounds received while on frontier duty with his Regiment of Mounted Riflemen at Fort Craig and Fort Defiance, New Mexico, Second Lieutenant William W. Averell reported for duty in Washington, D. C., four days after the firing on Fort Sumter. The following day, April 17, he was given an order by letter to deliver to Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Emory, First United States Cavalry, in command of the district embracing Forts Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb in the Indian Territory.[2]

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[1] References to sources used in compiling this article include: Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1915); J. B. Thoburn and M. H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. I; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I, Vols. I and LIII (hereinafter cited as *Official Records*); letter from Joseph M. O'Donnell, Chief, Archives and History Division, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, March, 1961.

[2] William Hempstead Emory a native of Maryland, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy on July 1, 1831, and first served with the 4th Artillery, U. S. A. He was appointed 1st Lieut., Corps of Topographical Engineers (1838), and was engaged in a number of notable U. S. surveys in the West, including that for the Boundary between the United States and the British Provinces (1844-46), the Boundary between California and Mexico (1848-53) and was with Brig. Gen. S. W. Kearney's Expedition to California (1846-47). Transferred to the 1st Cavalry in May, 1855, Bvt. Lieut. Col. W. H. Emory gave distinguished services as Commissioner in the survey of the Boundary between the United States and Mexico in 1857. He was stationed at Fort Arbuckle in 1858-59, during which time he recommended

Colonel Emory himself had been in Washington in March, where he had received orders just before setting out on his return to the Indian Territory to concentrate the three garrisons of his command at Fort Washita. He was given wide discretionary power in this since Army Headquarters at Washington could form no intelligent idea on what course he should take in his far away command.[3] When he arrived at Fort Smith, his base of supplies, he found the place threatened by secessionist forces in Arkansas. He also had word that the supply of ammunition being shipped up the Arkansas River for Forts Smith, Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb had been seized by secessionists at Napoleon downstream and that Fort Washita, about 165 miles southwest, was stocked with supplies to last only until May 31.[4] Preparatory to concentrating his whole command at this post, he set out with some of his Cavalry troops from Fort Smith on April 13.[5] En route on the road, when he had word that a large force of Texas Confederate troops was marching north toward Fort Washita, Colonel Emory ordered the withdrawal of its garrison. The next day, April 17, Fort Washita was taken over by the Texans.[6]

At the evacuation of this military post, Colonel Emory's troops encamped a few miles northwest on the Fort Arbuckle

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a site for a new military post, which ten years later was chosen as that for Fort Sill. In 1859, Major Emory established Fort Cobb on the Washita River (present Caddo Co.), and two years later as Lieut.-Col., 1st Cavalry, he was in command of the troops at Fort Smith, (Ark.) and the three Forts—Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb—in the Ind. Ter. He became a distinguished officer in the Union Army during the Civil War, and was commissioned Bvt. Maj.-Gen. on March 13, 1865, for "gallant and meritorious services" in the Battle of Cedar Creek, Va. He died Dec. 1, 1887.—Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, and George B. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York 1868), Vol. I.

[3] *Official Records*, Vol. 1, p. 659. Fort Gibson was an abandoned (1857) Army post at the beginning of the Civil War.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 648.

[5] In a letter addressed to Headquarters U. S. Army, dated Fort Smith, April 13, 1861, Col. Emory gave a brief account of what he had done before setting out for Fort Wasihta. He closed his letter with these remarks: "Having stated all I know affecting the honor and safety of the troops and the interests of the United States, and what has been done in executing the orders of the General-in-Chief, I now come to the object of my letter. Owing to the turn of affairs have recently taken, the position of an officer from a Southern State out here on duty has become extremely embarassing; so much so as to impair his efficiency. Therefore, I urgently request that I may be allowed to turn over this command, with my instructions, to Major Sacket [at Ft. Arbuckle], or such other officer as may be selected, and that I may be permitted to return to Washington City, where I can explain my reasons for the step. If those reasons should prove unsatisfactory, I am prepared to resign my commission. I respectfully suggest it has never been the policy of any government to employ officers to operate against their own section of country."—*Ibid.*, pp. 665-6.

[6] Col. Emory's Report, *ibid.*, pp. 648-9.

road, in the vicinity of present Emet, in Johnston County, where he was joined by Captain S. D. Sturgis with his command of Cavalry from Fort Smith on May 30. Captain Sturgis had evacuated the remaining troops from that post late in the day on April 23, about an hour before 300 armed secessionist forces of the State of Arkansas and 10 pieces of artillery arrived at this place, by boat.[7] On May 31, Colonel Emory set his whole column of the First Infantry Regiment and the First Cavalry on the march west toward Fort Arbuckle.

In the meantime, Lieutenant Averell was hurrying west with the order from the War Department. William Woods Averell was born in Steuben County, New York, on November 5, 1832. He graduated from the Military Academy at West Point on July 1, 1855, and as brevet Second Lieutenant, Mounted Riflemen, he was stationed at Jefferson Barracks (1855-56), and at the Cavalry School for Practice at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to 1857. He was assigned frontier duty in command of the Escort to the Commanding General of the Department of New Mexico, and did active service scouting out of Fort Craig and Fort Defiance for two years. He engaged in several skirmishes with the Indians of this region, including that with the Kiowa (1857), with the Navaho Expedition and with Ky-a-tano's band in Chusco Valley (1858). At the Puerco of the West in October, 1858, he was severely wounded in a night attack on his encampment. He was on sick leave (1859-1861) when he reported for duty at Washington in April, at the outbreak of the War.[8] Lieutenant Averell delivered the order of the War Department to Colonel Emory on his march west toward Fort Arbuckle, on May 2:[9]

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[7] Capt. Sturgis' Report, May 21, 1861, *ibid.*, pp. 650-1.

[8] Cullum, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-12, and Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 176. Commissioned 1st Lieut. of Mounted Riflemen, May, 1861, Lieut. Averell was transferred to the 3d Cavalry, Aug. 3, 1861, and about two weeks later again, to the 3d Pennsylvania Cavalry as Colonel; commissioned Brig. Gen., U. S. Volunteers, Sept. 26, 1863. He took part in the Virginia campaigns, and was commissioned Bvt. Maj. Gen., U. S. Army, March 13, 1865. He resigned from Army on May 18, 1865, and the following year was appointed U. S. Consul General of Canada, holding this office until 1869. He returned to private life, and secured several patents for asphalt paving, later being involved in court suits to hold his interest and rights that had been appropriated by others without his permission. He was reinstated by Congress as Captain in the Army, on the retired list in 1888, and served for a long period as Assistant Inspector General of Soldiers' Homes. He died at Bath, New York, on February 3, 1900 (O'Donnell, *op. cit.*).

[9] *Official Records*, Vol. I, p. 667.

Headquarters of the Army
Washington, April 17, 1861

Lieut. Col. Wm. H. Emory,
First Cavalry, Commanding Fort Arbuckle

Sir:

On receipt of this communication, you will, by order of the General-in-chief, with all the troops in the Indian country west of Arkansas, march to Fort Leavenworth, Kans., taking such useful public property as your means of transportation will permit. The troops may or may not be replaced by Arkansas volunteers. The action of that State will not affect your movement.

Capt. A. Montgomery, A.Q.M., will be left at Fort Smith, to take charge of public property, and as staff officer of volunteers who may be mustered into the service of the United States.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. D. Townsend
Assistant Adjutant General.

Lieutenant Averell's narrative is brought to light from the pages of the *Official Records,* and here published in *The Chronicles* to recall the days in the spring of one hundred years ago when the people of the Indian Territory were drawn into the tragedy of the great Civil War in the United States:[10]

Washington, D. C., May 31, 1861.

Col. L. Thomas,
Adjutant-General U. S. Army:

Sir: I have the honor to report that, having returned to duty on the 16th of April from an unexpired sick leave, I received the following order on April 17, viz:

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, April 17, 1861.

Lieut. William W. Averell,
Mounted Riflemen, Washington City:

Sir: You will, by order of the General-in-Chief, proceed at once to Fort Arbuckle and deliver the accompanying letter to Lieut. Col. W. H. Emory, or the senior officer present, receive from him communications for the Government, and return to this city.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. D. TOWNSEND.
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Upon the back of this order was the following indorsement, viz:

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[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 493-496. Some paragraph divisions have been made by the Editor, in Averell's narrative, for clearness in this number of *The Chronicles.*

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, April 17, 1861.

The General-in-Chief directs the quartermaster at Fort Smith to extend every facility to Lieutenant Averell to enable him to execute his orders with promptitude.

F. J. PORTER,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Providing myself with a rough traveling suit of citizen's clothing, I left Washington at 2.45 p. m. on the 17th of April, by the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. At Harper's Ferry, where the train stopped for a few minutes, I saw Capt. Roger Jones, commanding a detachment guarding the arsenal at that point, who informed me of his apprehensions of an attack by the Virginians, and that, aware of the insufficiency of his force to defend the public property, he had made arrangements to destroy it and withdraw his small force into Maryland. The towns and villages through which my journey to Saint Louis was made were alive with agitated people turning out volunteers in response to the call of the President. I arrived at Saint Louis on the evening of the 19th, and left on the morning of the 20th by the first train to Rolla, Mo., where I arrived, 115 miles distant, at 5 in the afternoon.

Leaving Rolla by the first stage coach at 5 a. m. the 22d, with several prominent Southern gentlemen as fellow-passengers, I proceeded, with changing horses, mails, and passengers, toward Fort Smith, through towns wild with secession excitement and rumors of war. The unruly temper of the people and their manifest readiness to embrace any pretext for violence made it necessary for the safety of my dispatches and their successful delivery that my name and character should remain unknown. Having assumed a name and purpose suitable to the emergency, I experienced no great difficulty in passing safely through several inquisitions. I was obliged to drive the stage a greater part of the distance between Cassville and Bentonville, on account of the drunkenness of the driver, there being no other male passenger. At Evansville I met the intelligence, which momentarily astounded me, that Fort Smith had been captured by a force of secessionists 800 strong, which had come under the command of Colonel Borland from Little Rock. Near the foot of Boston Mountain, on the southern side, the rumor was confirmed by the passengers of a coach from Fort Smith which we met, happily in a pitchy dark night, which prevented my recognition by some of the lady passengers, wives of army officers who might have known me.

Crossing the Arkansas River on a ferry-boat we reached Fort Smith at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 27th. The town

was in a political frenzy. The fort had been evacuated by Captain Sturgis, with four companies of the First Cavalry, four or five days before, and the post quartermaster, on whom I had an order for transportation, was a prisoner in the guardhouse. Secession troops were having a "general training" and target practice. It was perilous to make inquiries regarding our troops, and the only information obtainable of them was that they had gone westward, that pursuit up the Arkansas and from the direction of Texas was on foot, and that bridges had been burned and the streams were swollen from recent rains.

Exchanging my gold watch and a little money for a horse, saddle, and bridle with a man whose principal incentive to the trade was his apprehension of losing his horse by public seizure, I mounted for the remainder of the journey. It was 260 miles to Fort Arbuckle. Having been out of the saddle two years on account of my wound, and having just completed a toilsome, jolting journey of 300 miles in a coach, I was in poor condition for the struggle before me.

The horse was unbroken to the saddle, and after a fierce but unsuccessful effort to throw me ran wildly away through the sucessive lines of drilling troops, but I managed to guide him in a westerly direction and mastered him before reaching the Poteau River. This stream, 100 yards wide, was bank full and the bridge destroyed. Removing my heavy black overcoat, I swam the horse across, after a fearful struggle, in which I lost my overcoat and also suffered some injury from being struck by the horse. Twenty miles west of Fort Smith the road forks, the right hand going to Fort Arbuckle and the left to Fort Washita, these points being separated by sixty-five miles. Between the two routes the volcanic protrusion called the San Bois Mountains rise in several ranges about 1,500 feet high and gradually sink to the level of the undulating prairie seventy-five miles west of the fork. The deep trail showed that Sturgis had taken the left-hand road to Washita; therefore I went forward on the other the distance of about a mile to establish my trail in case of pursuit and then crossed over to the other road.[11]

The next morning I was overtaken at Holloway's Overland Station,[12] fifty-four miles west of Fort Smith, by four

[11] This fork in the road was west and south of the Choctaw Agency (Skullyville or Walker's Station), the site of which is about 1½ miles northeast of present Spiro, LeFlore County, Oklahoma. Averell followed the right hand road (Fort Arbuckle Road, also known as the "California Road") for a mile or so, and then crossed over to the Fort Washita Road which he followed to the "Narrows" on Brazil Creek, southwest.

[12] Averell was following the road to Fort Washita (the Butterfield Overland Mail Route). Holloway's Station was a stage stand on the Butterfield

mounted desperadoes, but my would-be captors, finding me wearing the light-blue uniform overcoat of a private soldier, which I had obtained at a station to replace the black one lost in the river, were easily persuaded that they had missed their man and I was not the one they wanted, but a rancorous secessionist like themselves who was going to fetch a sister from the army on account of the prospective troubles. Permitted to pursue my way, and quitting the road a few hours later to graze my horse, the same party, undeceived by a study of trails, passed me in hot pursuit. Resuming the road after them, a friendly wayfarer, who had met them and heard their inquiries, informed me of their wrathful purpose to shoot me on sight.

With the intention to reach the trail crossing to the Arbuckle road at the western end of the mountains, if possible, and to avail myself of the sheltering woods which covered their southern slopes if necessary, I rode cautiously forward. But ere the desired trail was reached the party was descried returning, whereupon I took to the woods and was fired upon and ordered to halt. Realizing that I could make a trail faster than they could find it my course was taken directly across the mountains and my escape made good. The Arbuckle road was found about two hours after midnight, after experiencing considerable trouble in keeping my horse, which I was obliged to lead during the night in the woods through howling packs of wolves.[13] The next day I was headed off by the same party on that road and pursued. After another troublesome night in the woods among wolves and impassable ravines I found a Cherokee cabin, some food for myself and horse, and a guide to the Arbuckle road, ten miles west of Perryville.[14]

Another weary day and night brought me near to Cochrane's ranch,[15] forty miles from Arbuckle. Here it was ascer-

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Stage Line that carried the U. S. mail between St. Louis and San Francisco, 1858-1861, its operation ceasing June 30, 1861 ("Report on the Butterfield Overland Mail," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 [Winter, 1958-59]). Averell may have purchased the light-blue uniform overcoat at Walker's Station (14 miles west of Fort Smith). The site of Holloway's Station is at "the Narrows" on Brazil Creek, about 3 miles northeast of present Red Oak, Latimer County.

[13] Lieut. Averell left the Fort Washita Road (Butterfield Overland Mail Route) approximately at the west side of present Red Oak, and after traveling north through wild country reached the Fort Arbuckle Road (California Road) after midnight, in the vicinity of old Sans Bois Town, near Sans Bois Creek, Haskell County, on April 29.

[14] The Cherokee cabin spoken of was that of a Choctaw (possibly Chickasaw) as there was a Choctaw settlement in the region of present Arpelar, Pittsburg County, which was within the boundaries of the Choctaw Nation in 1861.

[15] Averell was near Cochran's the morning of May 1st. His "Cochrane's Ranch" was known in local history as Cochran's Store, the site of which is about 1½ miles southwest of present Frisco, Pontotoc County, on the south side of Clear Boggy Creek. This was the home of Robert Cochran, a white

(M. H. W., 1961)

Lieutenant Averell's Route from Fort Smith west, April 27 to May 2, 1861, with dispatches to Colonel Emory, and the withdrawal of all U. S. troops from the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), at the outbreak of the Civil War.

tained that our troops had left Arbuckle and were concentrating at Washita, forty miles to the southward. Obtaining a fresh horse and an Indian guide we set out for Washita, but toward night were overtaken by a blinding storm of wind and rain, in which the Indian lost the way and I lost the Indian.[16] Making my way to the Big Blue River I swam it in the dark and unsaddled, tied my new horse to one stirrup, and running my arm through the other lay down and slept till morning.[17] Upon awaking the Indian, who had found me, informed me that we were not far from the road between Washita and Arbuckle and about ten miles west of the former place.[18] When arrived at the road a deep double trail made in the mud of the previous evening disclosed the fact that a heavy body of mounted troops had moved westward. Following it about six miles we came upon the First U. S. Cavalry and the First U. S. Infantry breaking camp, the infantry already stretched out on the road toward Arbuckle. Riding to Colonel Emory, who was already mounted, I delivered the dispatches.[19] They were soon communicated to his officers. It was made known to me that the enemy was concentrating upon and had taken possession of Fort Washita the previous evening, and that I should have found myself again in his hands but for the storm which had prevented me reaching that point the previous night. In an ambulance I accompanied Colonel Emory's command to Fort Arbuckle, where we arrived May 3, and found Major Sacket, Captains Crittenden, Williams, and others who had been left with a small force in charge of the post when the main body went to Washita.[20] The trains were loaded

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man, whose wife was a Chickasaw. After the Civil War, Cochran moved his store about 3 miles east, and the place was named "Stonewall," (old Stonewall) for General "Stonewall" Jackson of Civil War fame. A post office was established at old Stonewall in 1874. Cochran's was on the Dragoon Trail (of 1834), which after the Civil War was called the Texas Cattle Trail.

16 When he became lost from his Indian guide in the storm, Lieut. Averell was following the Dragoon Trail (Leavenworth Expedition, 1834) which was a well known road southwest to Fort Washita by this time in 1861. (See Leavenworth Expedition—George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, [Spring, 1950], pp. 2-41.)

17 The road followed by Lieut. Averell crossed Blue River at the "falls" known as the "Dragoon Crossing," later Belton on Blue, about 10 or 12 miles west and south of Wapanucka, Johnston County.

18 The Dragoon Trail struck the Fort Arbuckle Road about 7 miles north of Tishomingo, Johnston County.

19 When Lieut. Averell handed the order of the War Department to Col. Emory in this dramatic scene, the course of the Civil War was set in Indian Territory. The meeting took place on the Ft. Washita-Ft. Arbuckle road in the vicinity of present Reagen, Johnston County, on May 2, 1861.

20 Lieut. Averell set out in the ambulance with Col. Emory's command and the escort for Fort Arbuckle, early in the morning of May 3rd. Later in the day, the column of troops moved up to the east side of the Washita, about 5 miles east of Fort Arbuckle.

(Photo from U. S. Military Academy, West Point)

WILLIAM W. AVERELL,
Brevet Major General, U. S. Army (Retired)

to their utmost capacity, and on the 4th of May the flag was lowered with military honors, Fort Arbuckle was abandoned, and we marched northward, conducted by the Indian guides Possum and Old Beaver.[21] We were pursued by a body of Texans two or three days, but ceased to be annoyed after the capture of their advance guard of about thirty men by Captain Sturgis, in which undertaking I accompanied him by permission of Colonel Emory. I left Colonel Emory's command on the march for Leavenworth at El Dorado, in Kansas, and reached Washington yesterday and endeavored to report at once to you. Finding you engaged with the Secretary of War, I went to his house, but as you were unable to see me I avail myself of this my first opportunity to report.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. W. AVERELL,
Second Lieutenant, Regiment Mounted Riflemen.

Withdrawal of the U. S. Troops from the Indian Territory

The main body of troops from Fort Arbuckle and two companies from Fort Cobb joined Colonel Emory on May 3, on the east side of the Washita River, about five miles east of Fort Arbuckle. The location of the overnight encampment was about a mile north of the present site of the City of Davis, in Murray County. Early the next day (May 4) when the loaded wagons came over from Fort Arbuckle, the whole column moved north up the east side of the Washita with Black Beaver, the Delaware scout as guide, on the march to relieve Fort Cobb, heading—as Colonel Emory states in his report—for "the road which lies on the open prairie north of the Washita River, so as to render the cavalry available."[22] This open

On this same day (May 3, 1861), Major Delos B. Sacket, First Cavalry, was commissioned Lieut.-Colonel of Second Cavalry. A native of New York, he graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, West Point, July 1, 1845. He served as 2nd Lieut., 1st Dragoons (1845), 1st Lieut., 2nd Dragoons (1846), Capt., 1st Cavalry (1855); in Military Occupation of Texas and in the War with Mexico. He was commissioned Bvt. Major.General, U. S. A., on March 13, 1865, for "faithful and meritorious services" in the Civil War. —Cullum *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 131-2.

[21] Black Beaver was the noted Delaware scout who served as guide to many famous U. S. expeditions and exploring parties in the West. His band of Delaware was settled in the vicinity of the Wichita Agency, near Ft. Cobb, Caddo County, and had been identified with the Ft. Arbuckle region since this post was first established at old Camp Arbuckle near present Byars, McClain County.—George H. Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949), pp. 313-15; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Black Beaver," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946), pp. 269-92.

[22] Col. Emory's Report, *Official Records*, Vol. I, pp. 648-9.

prairie road lay some thirty miles north, by the meanders of the trail being followed, and was one and the same as the road leading west, noted in history as the California Road, over which Black Beaver had been a guide to Captain R. B. Marcy's California emigrant train in 1849.[22a]

Late in the day on May 5, Colonel Emory received a message addressed to him "Commanding Troops in the Field," and dated "Fort Arbuckle, C. N., May 5, 1861," from the Sergeant left in charge of the store of supplies remaining at the post, which stated:[23]

I regret to report that this post was this morning taken possession of by a portion of a large force of Texans, who are marching in the rear of your column (report says two thousand men). The officer commanding demanded me to give up to him, in the name of the Southern Confederacy, the whole of the United States property in my charge, which I complied with, as I could offer no resistance, my command being disarmed previous to leaving their companies. He has promised to myself and command a safe passage with our families and private property from further molestation until we get to Fort Leavenworth. Only for the interfence of Mr. Myers he would have made us prisoners of war.

At this point, Colonel Emory's report states:[24]

On the 5th, finding myself followed, I halted, and sent Captain Sturgis with his company and Lieutenant Averell to the rear, to bring into my camp the advance guard of the pursuing forces, which he did happily without having to shed blood. The same day Arbuckle was occupied by a large force of white people from Texas. The next morning [May 6] the above-mentioned guard, mostly composed of gentlemen acting under erroneous impressions, retraced its steps, and I followed my course to relieve the command at Cobb, for the safety of which I had reason to entertain serious apprehensions, and which I had ordered to meet me.

The column had halted near the present McClain-Garvin County line, north of the present town of Paoli. From here Captain Sturgis with his cavalry troops and Lieutenant Averell turned back along the trail that they had just traveled, and met the pursuing forces a few miles from present Pauls Valley

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22a Robert H. Dott, "Lieutenant Simpson's California Road Across Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1960), with map. Leaving the present location of Davis on the east side of the Washita River, the route was north along the trail that led to old Camp Arbuckle, near present Byars, where Black Beaver's Delaware band lived up to about 1859. Black Beaver knew well this trail to Fort Arbuckle from the time of its establishment west of the Washita in 1852 for he had served as guide to many U. S. expeditions through this country even before that time.

23 Report, Sgt. Charles A. Campbell, Co. E, 1st Inf., "Occupation of Fort Arbuckle, Ind. Ty., by Texas Troops," *Official Records*, Vol. I, p. 652.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 648. The trail being followed under the guidance of Black Beaver struck the "open prairie road," or California Road, near and south of present Wayne, McClain County.

WILLIAM HEMPSTEAD EMORY,
Brevet Major General, U. S. Army

in Garvin County, east (or northeast) of the Washita.[25] From available records, this encounter on May 5, 1861, was the first between the armed forces of the Union Army and the Southern Confederacy in the Indian Territory at the outbreak of the Civil War.

Three days more of marching west on the "open prairie road north of the Washita River"—the California Road—, and on the fourth day, May 9, at a point thirty-five miles northeast of Fort Cobb, Colonel Emory found the command (two companies of infantry) from that post. This meeting with the Fort Cobb troops took place near the present City of Minco, in Grady County. From here, on the same day—May 9—, Colonel Emory marched his whole command—"eleven companies, 750 fighting men, 150 women, children, teamsters, and other non-combatants"—north, taking the most direct course to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas," as the nature of the ground would permit." The column crossed the Canadian River at what was many years later known as the Silver City Crossing, northeast of Minco in Grady County.[26] Thence, the route was north passing in the vicinities of the present cities of El Reno, Kingfisher, Enid, Pond Creek and on toward the location of present Caldwell, Kansas, and northeast. The traces of the road left by the departing Union troops along this route in 1861, through western Indian Territory north of the Canadian, were followed by the great cattle herds driven north from Texas after the War, a road that became famous as the Chisholm Trail.

When Colonel Emory wrote his report to the War Department from the field, "Headquarters Troops in the Indian Country, West of the Arkansas City, May 19, 1861," he stated in part:[27]

> Nothing has been left behind that would have been left in time of peace. Contracts were made to bring such stores as were left, and were worth transporting (chiefly clothing of soldiers and officer's baggage), but I understand the clothing has been seized. If this be the fact, these soldiers who have not mixed in the politics of the

[25] The Texas Confederate forces following Col. Emory's column were out of Fort Washita.—Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 310.

[26] This became the well known crossing on the Canadian River for Texas cattle drives up the Chisholm Trail, near which Silver City was located. This Silver City Crossing was one of the points from which the "run" into the Oklahoma Country was made on April 22, 1889.—*Ibid.;* also, "Silver City on the Chisholm Trail," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1958), pp. 210-11; and *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1960), p. 210, list of "Oklahoma Historical Markers and Monuments, 1959-1960."

[27] Col. Emory's Report was written at his headquarters en route, on the west side of the Arkansas River, some miles west and south of the present City of Wichita, Kansas, on May 19, 1861.—*Official Records*, Vol. I, pp. 648-9.

country, who stand to their colors, and do their duty faithfully, should be reimbursed.

There is no money with this command, which has been a source of great embarrassment; and I beg to call attention to the estimates, and request that funds be immediately sent, to enable me to discharge useless persons I have been compelled to bring along, and also to pay the faithful Delaware guides.

Of the three staff officers stationed at Fort Smith, and who, it is presumed, had possession of the funds, if there are any in this country, Paymaster Brown is the only one who shared the fortunes of the troops, but he joined the command without a dollar.

The last word of Colonel Emory's report on the abandonment of Forts Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb in the Indian Territory, is his message to the War Department:[28]

Headquarters Troops from Texas Frontier
Fort Leavenworth, May 31, 1861

I arrived here this morning, and turned over the command to Major Sackett in good condition; not a man, an animal, an arm or wagon has been lost except two deserters.

W. H. Emory

Late Lieutenant-Colonel First Cavalry, Commanding
Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend,
Assistant Adjutant-General

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 649.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM E. BURNET LETTERS: REMOVAL OF THE TEXAS INDIANS AND THE FOUNDING OF FORT COBB

By Raymond Estep

Part III

Part III of the William E. Burnet letters contributed by Dr. Raymond Estep, with annotations is the last of this series published in The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Part I and Part II having appeared in Volume XXXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1960) and No. 4 (Winter, 1960-61), respectively.

Editor

Fort Cobb C. N.
March 28th/60

My dear Father

Yesterday I returned from a Buffalo hunt on which I had been out nearly two weeks, and to my satisfaction found your two letters: dated Feb 28 and March 7th with several papers, the News and Observer.

Of course Mrs Shaw does not want to part with Gabe after paying such a high price for him; I am sorry we could not get him; but it could not be helped: he will be as well off with his wife, I suppose, as if he were with me.

We here [hear] several reports on the Mexican question but none of them very definate and cannot tell what will take place. A large force is collecting on the Rio Grande, some in Texas but the greater portion in New Mexico, almost all the Troops in Utah are withdrawn for that purpose. Ordering Col Lee[120] to take Cortinas may, if such an order has been given, bring on a collision after which there will be no backing out — time will soon settle it all and I hope we will all be over the Rio Grande by fall; but it is too good luck to be true.

There is to be a combined movement against the Indians this Spring: six Companies from this Post; four From Fort Union, in New Mexico, and four from Fort Riley in Kansas.[121]

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[120] Robert E. Lee assumed command of the Department of Texas, Feb. 20, 1860.—D. S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee* (New York, 1945), Vol. I, p. 405; *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 44. Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 421, says Lee assumed command, Feb. 6, 1860.

[121] "Instructions were issued early in the season," recorded the Secretary of War, "for active operations against the hostile Kioways and Comanches, and three independent columns were sent into the field against these tribes, each consisting of six mounted companies." Companies A, B, C, D, E, and I of the 1st Cavalry from Forts Arbuckle, Cobb, and Washita composed the southern column led by Capt. Samuel D. Sturgis. Maj. John Sedgwick led Column I, composed of Companies F, G, H, and K of the 1st Cavalry and Companies C

They will be apt to give the Indians a warm time: as they will follow them into Mexico; which has been their retreat heretofore.

I start tomorrow for Camp Cooper, Texas, to bring up a large number of Pack Mules for the expedition— it will take me about twenty five days to go and come. by that time the Column from this place will be about ready to march —I expect to go. I do not think Col Lee will find Cortinas if he goes to Mexico after him. Cortinas is a Robber by profession and acquainted with all the mountain passes and would be hard to find. I must close as I have some preperations to make for the march.

I hope this will reach you safe and find you in good health. Write often and give me all the news. I am glad to hear that Miss Sarah is improving in health, and hope that she may be entirely restored in health and good looks.

Tell Puss and Em that they must try and be good in every thing particularly in minding you— I trust it will not be necessary to sell them.

From your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Camp Cooper Texas
April 7th 1860

My dear Father

In my last letter to you, written at Fort Cobb, I told you that I would leave that Post in a few days for this place, to get a lot of pack mules. I arrived here yesterday all right: and will start back in the morning with the mules. I came down in seven days but it will take me eight or nine to go back on account of having the mules: as I have no forage for them, they will require time to eat grass, & I shall not make as long marches as coming down. I have been very buisy to day with the Quartermaster's papers and have not much time to write to night and no news. There are a great many reports of Indians commiting depredations: and there have been a great

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and K of the 2d Dragoons, from Fort Riley as far as Bent's Fort. Maj. C. F. Ruff commanded Column II, the New Mexican contingent, composed of Companies A, C, D, F, H, and K of Mounted Rifflemen (319 men). 36th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1, Vol. II, pp. 56-59, 190, 193, 197, 222. Some of the reports and journals of the Sedgwick and Sturgis expeditions are also printed in LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen (eds.), *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861* (Glendale, Cal., 1959), Vol. IX, *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series*, 1820-1875, pp. 191-254. For details of the activities of some of the units from Fort Riley, see W. Stitt Robinson (ed.), "The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII (Winter, 1957), pp. 382-400.

many no doubt: still they have been very much over rated. The people accuse the Reserve Indians, as a matter of course: but, I think, it is all done by the wild Comanches and by white men. The Mexican excitement appears to have died out almost entirely, as I expected it would.

On my way down here I passed great numbers of Buffalo and killed a great many: There are more between here and the Wichita Mountains than I ever saw before: The season has been so cold that they have got much further down the Country than usual. I hope when I get back to my Post to find letters from you and learn that you are quite well.

from your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.
April 20th 1860

My dear Father

When I got back from Camp Cooper on the 17th I expected to find letters from you but was disappointed: Our last mail however brought me one dated March 23rd which relieved my anxiety. I cannot account for the great irregularity of the mails,. it may be owing to the high waters in Texas. In the last week we have had a great deal of rain here; it is now raining very hard. I got back from Cooper with the Mules all safe; but got a man shot by accident, he was not much hurt, but was very near receiving a fatal wound. While I was away there was quite an excitement among the Indians here. One of the Tribes lost quite a number of Horses and followed the trail in the direction of the Comanche Camp; but lost it near the Camp: They charged the Comanches with stealing the Horses: The Comanches denied it and when the others persisted the Comanche Chief got mad and told the other that he would fight him alone, or take an equal number of their men on each side and fight it out; or take the entire tribe and settle it that way. While they were quarreling however, a party of Caddos out hunting met the Indians who had stolen the horses making off with them: They were Kioways from the plains. The Caddos attacked them, killed four and took all the horses. When they got in it relieved the Comanches from the charge of Horse stealing and they all made friends, had a 'big dance' and went home. It might have resulted in a serious difficulty; the troops would have had to quell the disturbance. I have a cut on my finger which makes it difficult for me to write, but amounts to nothing otherwise. When I write next I will be more explicite. My health is very good and I trust yours is so. your affectionate son.

Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.
May 25th 1860

My dear Father

Our last mail did not bring me any letter from you, but some papers of late date, so I suppose all is right. I have been much engaged for some time in making preperations for the expedition: as I am Commissary at the Post now. The preperations are about completed, and the expedition will leave in a few days, we expect.

I do not go with the expedition. A few days ago an order came, from the Head Quarters of the Army, reducing the force of the expedition: on account of a report that the citizens, from some of the border Counties of Texas, were coming up to attack the Indians.[122] It is the same old story, I suppose, and I do not put any confidence in it: as, I do not think, they can get men enough to feel confidence sufficient to show themselves on this side of Red River. That is of no conciquence however, as the order is here: We must stay— For my own part I don't care much: as I think the Indians we were going after are about as good as the people on the frontier; and I shall escape a great deal of hard riding, on the plains, in very hot weather, and many disagreeable things: and have but small chance of gaining any thing. It is a pitty, I think, that those people cannot be quiet, but must interfere with us while we are at our propper duty— I have had much opportunity of observing the Indians on the Reserve & I am still of the opinion that they have not and do no[t] commit any depredations on the people of Texas I think the depredations that are commited are done by the hostile Indians in part and by a band of Horse thieves who charge their acts on the Indians. I do not think there is any chance of those people will come here and if they do I know many of them will never go back; they had better stay at home &, I think, they will. I see by the 'News' that Sam Houston is opposed to these frontier people and if he was never right before he is in that. I [The] editor of the paper called "The White-Man",[123] which the "News" compliments so highly: is the man who killed the old Indian the day the Indians chased Baylor's party and he was about the first man to find his way into Marlin's house. I have seen only two or three of the papers but they were full of slanders and abuse of better men than Capt Hammer.[124] I met an old school mate

122 Superintendent Rector advised his superiors in 1860 that the Indian tribes located at the Wichita Agency were kept in a constant state of alarm by the "threats and excitement of the people of the Texas border."—Wright, *loc. cit.*, p. 57.

123 A weekly newspaper published in Jacksboro, Texas, from 1858 until July 1860.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 898.

124 H. A. Hamner, co-editor with Isaac R. Worrall, of the *Whiteman*.—*Ibid.*

a few days ago 'Timmons'[125] who relieved me at Mr Forshey's[126] school. Mr Timmons comes out as Engineer for the Commission running the line between Texas and New Mexico.[127] They leave here in a few days to begin the work. The hostile Indians are about us again: a short time ago six, out of a party of seven, were killed: Their trail was found quite near. Day-before-yesterday the Indians shot a Mexican who was out looking for some beeves; and last night quite a number of horses were stolen from the Comanches quite near here. The scout may find Indians; but, I think, that it is likely they have split up in small parties and will be hard to find— I hope I shall hear from you soon, that you are quite well. I am very glad you saw Mr Kent: and wish you could visit that part of the country perhaps we may be able to do so before long — Capt Plummer will not be out until fall, his health is improving. I will send Mr Cooper $100.00 by the next mail and the rest as soon as I find out the amount. I get the 'News' and 'Observer' quite regularly. Our News comes by way of the Calafornia over land mail in much less time than it comes by way of New Orleans— letters come from New York in about half the time it takes them to come from Galveston. The weather is getting very warm indeed and has the prospect of being a very hot summer. Remember me to any of my old friend[s] you may see: And write often. My time is up — I trust, my dear Father, you are quite well.

from your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb June 6th/60

My dear Father

Our last mail brought your truly welcome letter of May the 14th and relieved me of much anxiety, as the two previous mails had failed to give me a letter. I am happy to hear again that you are in good health. I have written regularly, sometimes

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125 Bolivar Timmons, like Burnet, a graduate of Kentucky Military Institute, had been commandant and mathematics instructor at Caleb G. Forsley's Texas Monumental and Military Institute at Rutersville, six miles northeast of LaGrange, Texas, after its opening in 1856.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 748.

126 Caleb G. Forshey, founder in Galveston in 1854 of the Texas Military Institute, a school consolidated in 1856 with Rutersville College and the Texas Monument Committee of LaGrange to form the Texas Monumental and Military Institute at Rutersville.—*Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 619; Vol. II, pp. 521, 748.

127 Burnet undoubtedly refers to the joint United States-Texas Boundary Commission, headed by U. S. Commissioner John H. Clark, designated to survey the 100th meridian and 36° 30′ boundaries of Texas in the summer of 1860. "United States v. State of Texas," *Cases Argued and Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States* (Rochester, 1926—Lawyer's Edition), Vol. 40, p. 894. On June 12 Clark's party encountered a patrol headed by Lt. J. E. B. Stuart at 36° 16′ and told Stuart that they had recently left Fort Cobb. —Hafen and Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

only a few lines, but always to let you know that I was well, when I had not time to write more.

The expedition will leave day-after tomorrow. I do not go — an order came a short time ago from Gen Scott[128] charging the Commanding Officer here to be careful to protect the friendly Indians against the Texas border-men and an order reducing the force of the scout was the necessary conciquence. I am sorry the foolish reports circulated by the papers should be able to interfere with our business; but so it is. I don't think it is much loss, not going out, as the weather is very hot, the water bad, on the rout, and no shelter from the sun; and the chances of a fight not more than even; and we get no credit of Indian fights any way. After the order came about protecting the Indians, and we had reports that the people were organizing to pay us a visit, parties of Indians were kept out to watch the passes in the Wichita Mountains and the crossings of Red River and give us timely notice of any persons coming into the Territory. About a week ago the spys came in and said about 500 men had crossed Red River and were camped in the Mountains; the same day an other party of spies reported that about 100 men had crossed the River and were coming up by an other road. These reports caused much commotion among the Indians, and caused us to make some preperations; but, as 600 men would be doing very poor business in attacking this place now, we concluded there must be some mistake. Capt Sturgis[129] sent out to meet them, and learn their business here. They proved to be Texas State Troops[130] on their way to the Canadian after the Kioways. The small party, a Company commanded by young Ross (son of Capt Ross, the Indian Agent at the Brazos Reserve) The same one who was at the fight, at Marlins, with Baylors men. Ross came up to see me yesterday: he came by the Agency to get some guides for their expedition: the others are camped at our old camp on Otter Creek, waiting for him to join them. He will get some very good Guides, as the Indians like him and have confidence in him. Ross tell[s] me there has been quite a change on the frontier lately — The man who killed Major Neighbors has been killed and an other notorious character: several others have been implicated in Horse stealing, and will probably meet a like fate; which they richly deserve. I do not

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[128] Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott (1786-1866), General-in-Chief of the Army of the United States.

[129] Samuel D. Sturgis, USMA 1846, participated in the Mexican War, promoted captain in 1st Cavalry, March 3, 1855, served at Fort Arbuckle in 1859, and at Fort Cobb, 1859 60. He became a brigadier general of U. S. Volunteers in the Civil War.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 278-280.

[130] Expedition, led by Middleton Tate Johnson, sent out from Austin in March 1860.—Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, pp. 203, 212.

know by what means this change has been wrought, but it is one greatly to be thanked, by those interested in the country. Capt Ross leaves us day after tomorrow to join the main command; and, I hope, they may be successful. I like Ross as much as any young man I ever met.

When the expedition leaves here we will be quite lonesome: there will be but four Officers and a Doctor left. The Expedition is under Capt Sturgis of the 1st Cavalry and will be about 350 strong:[131] I hope them good Luck. I believe now I have given all the news of any interest at this place. I don't think there will be any force of Indians in Texas this summer: They will have their hands full: a few stealing parties may come down but nothing more. Our prospect here is for a lazy summer with little, or nothing, to do: but there is no telling what may take place — I am glad you met Mrs Lipscom:[132] when I saw her she spoke so affectionately of Mother that I shall always remember her. I am very happy to hear that Miss Brannum has entirely recovered and hope she may be spared from such visitations in the future.

Remember me to Puss & Em. tell them I often think of them, and to be good and mind you in every thing. I trust your health is good. I am quite well— from your affectionate son

[no signature]

Fort Cobb C. N.
June 22nd 1860

My dear Father

I did not get any letter from you for the last two mails and I am becoming anxious to hear: I trust the next mail will bring me a letter from you with the good word that all is well. I will hope that all is well.

Here there is nothing new nothing worthy of notice: Since the expedition left we have a dull time, so few of us & the weather is so hot that it is not comfortable at any time during the day: the thermometer s[oars to] 105° & 6° regularly, & the wind is hot and oppressive. This is a very disagreeable climate, cold in winter and hot in summer but, so far, it appears healthy, we have had very little sickness among the Troops, but quite a number of Indians have died since they came here. We have had one Express from the Expedition, they were near the

[131] The Secretary of War, in reporting the engagement fought near the Republican Fork (see below) on Aug. 6, 1860, said Capt. Sturgis had 11 officers and 419 enlisted men in his six cavalry companies.—36th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, Vol. II, p. 197.

[132] Perhaps Mrs. Mary P. Bullock Lipscomb, second wife of Abner Smith Lipscomb, Associate Justice of the Texas Supreme Court from 1846 until his death in 1856.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 61-62.

'Antelope hills'—had seen no Indians or any sign of them—they found water very scarce and bad. The Rangers are still camped in the Wichita Mountains— if the[y] expect to find the Indians in any number they must go beyond that [place] and if they do not start soon the season will be passed and nothing done.[133] There is nothing of interest to write about I do not know what is going on in the world outside politicaly, or any other way, but I suppose there is much excitement about the coming election. I do not know that the result will have any very great effect on the country, but it seems to me the Black Republicans have the best prospect.

My dear Father I wish you would write often and give me the general and local news. I suppose the weather is warm with you but you do not have the dry hot winds which prevail in this country. I trust the fever will not visit Galveston [this] summer and if it should, I hope, you will remove to some secure place.

Remember me to such of my acquaintance as have not forgotten me & write often to your

affectionate Son
Wm. E. Burnet.

Fort Cobb C. N.
June 30th 1860

My dear Father

Our last mail brought me your very welcome letter of June 5th: as the two previous mails had failed to bring any word from you I was much relieved to hear that your health was good. There must be much neglect in the manner of conducting the mail through the northern portion of Texas. I have written regularly and my letters must have been lost through the carelessness or ignorance of some little Post Master.

I was glad to hear from Aunt Mary by the enclosed letter and happy to learn that Mr Clopper was so much improved in health & that Edward[134] is doing well. I have as usual little or no news worth telling. I got your previous letter speaking of Lt Stevens[135] & family and was very glad you

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133 Webb says this Ranger expedition, led by Middleton T. Johnson, was poorly equipped and "mismanaged from the first," that Governor Houston knew it was mismanaged and yet registered no serious complaint *(The Texas Rangers*, p. 203).

134 Edward Nicholas Clopper (1840-80), only son of Joseph and Mary Clopper, and first cousin of William E. Burnet, was Superintendent of Schools in Houston in 1879-80.—Clopper, *op. cit.*, pp. 576-591, 593.

135 This may have been 1st Lt. Walter H. Stevens, USMA 1848, who served in the Corps of Engineers until dismissed from the service on May 2, 1861. In 1857 he was Superintending Engineer for the construction of the Galveston Custom House, and in the period 1860-61 was Superintending Engineer for the building of the Galveston harbor fortifications.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 346.

had met them — remember me to them when you see them again. I am very sorry to hear such an account of Emily and hope she will improve & that it may not be necessary to part with her. How does Puss behave now? We have not heard from the Expedition since I last wrote &, I suppose, shall not hear again until they return. The Rangers are still camped in the Wichita Mountains: I saw an Indian yesterday who had been employed by them as a guide, he said they did not know when they would start on their scout and that their Horses were getting poor from the men running them after Buffalo. Unless they start soon they will have no chance to find Indians. Reports are still circulating of an Expedition fitting up in Texas for the purpose of attacking the Reserve Indians. I do not place much, if any, reliance in them: it is possible that they may attempt something now, thinking that the greater part of the Troops and Indian men have gone on the Expedition; if they come, they will find enough left to attend to their case. I hope to hear from you more regularly, as I shall be anxious in the warm weather My health is good and I trust yours is. Write often.

from your affectionate son.
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.
July 6th 1860

My dear Father

I did not get any letter from you by our last mail: but, I hope, it is due to the misconduct of the mails. A week has passed since I last wrote and nothing has taken place in that time worthy of notice. We have not heard from the Expedition; and, I think, it is likely will not again until they return. The Rangers are still camped in the Mountains. I do not know when they expect to start on their Expedition: But, unless they go soon, they will have no chance to find Indians and will kill all their Horses. The weather has been very dry & excessively warm: to day the thermometer stood at 109°: the grass is drying up very fast: and, in a short time, will burn like powder: the Indians will then fire it, most likely; and leave nothing for horses to eat between this and the Arkansas River in that case our Expedition will suffer on their return. I see in the last News a letter in which I am mentioned as having taken Indians to Jacksboro to burn & murder &c, &c.[136] I hope to have an opportunity to repay Mr Richardson for the trouble he has had to keep me in prin[t]. They abuse the Rangers now, and the Regulars: they are hard to please I wish those people would come here, as they have been promising

[136] See Burnet's letter of May 9, 1859, above.

to do for so long: we will rid the Country of many a rascal if they do; but they will not come.

I got a letter from Wm Resor Jr. by the last mail: he gave me all the news of our Friends in & about Cincinnati: they are all well; they have made great improvements in Cincinnati since I was there. I should like very much to visit them again but can't tell when the time will come. I hope the next mail will bring me a letter from you with word that you are quite well. I see by the papers that the yellow fever has made its appearance in New Orleans I hope Galveston will be spared from a visitation, this season. Should it come, I hope you will go to the Country out of all danger from it. Write soon. Remember me to any who have not forgotten me. I trust your health is good. Mine is very good.

from your affectionate son
[no signature]

Fort Cobb C. N.
July 13th 1860

My dear Father

Our mail of yesterday brought me your very welcome letter of June 19th. I cannot account for the irregularities of the mail in any other way than by the neglect of the Post Masters in Texas: I write to you regularly and there is no reason why my letters should not go through in season—but when every thing is in as bad a condition as the affairs on this frontier nothing else can well be expected—The *proof* against the "Reserve Indians," I think, exists only in the assertion of persons hostile to the Reserves: and that hostility can be traced back to personal causes. There was no idea of such a thing until Baylor was removed from office; and he was heard to say that he would break up the reserves in Texas and have Neighbors, Ross and Leeper put out of office. From that time he devoted himself to the task of making an excitement on the frontier and directing public feeling against the "Reserve Indians." By false statements, through the papers and in public speaches, he made many people believe he was correct and that the Res Indians did commit the depredations. Others joined him to hide their own crimes; for there is no doubt that there has been a large force of horse-thieves on the Texas frontier. Besides this there is no doubt that there have been many Indians in the Country; but that they have been Reserve Indians I do not believe, and never will, until better men than Baylor and Hamner (The Editor of the "White Man") can by [be] brought forward to give testimony against them. The Comanches & Kioways out number the Reserve Indians and have had every cause to seek revenge against the

Whites; and there is no doubt that they have made every exertion to accomplish that revenge for their people killed by Major Van Dorn & Capt Ford's Commands. Many men have stated that they knew the Indians who attacked them; for instance a man made affidavit that he saw The-cump-ce,[137] the Comanche Chief, down there several days after he died up here: the last mail brought word that "Shot-Arm", a Waco Chief, was seen with a party who killed some men in some of the border Counties — at the time he was seen there, he was with Capt Sturgis near the Antelope Hills. The Indians have strange powers. So many reports of this kind have come to my knowledge that I cannot put faith in any of them. That the Reserve Indians join the wild tribes in their expeditions, is almost impossible: for they are all at war with them: and have kill[ed] more than the Rangers have, in the last five years; and more than they are likely to kill, unless they do better than they have done. Since they left Texas they have killed fourteen Comanches & Kioways in the vicinity of this Post & on the road up. There can be no doubt of their hostility to the wild tribes; if they do go into Texas they go on their own hook. But, as I said before, I do not think they go; it is almost impossible for any number of them to be absent any length of time, without its being known. I do not wish to appear as the Champion of the Indians — but I believe them to be better than a large majority of the frontier settlers. In case an attack is made on the Indians our orders are plain: they must whip the [our] entire force or few will [re]cross Red River. I do not think they [will] come here Their actions on a former occasion is sufficient pledge for that.

We have no news since I last wrote — have not heard from the Expedition. The weather is very hot and dry: the thermometer up to 110° & 112°, with hot winds it seems healthy however, as we have had no sickness among the troops, as yet. What time does Gen Sherman think of bringing his family back to Galveston?

I am glad to hear that Miss Sarah has recovered her health; and hope the trip to the springs may further improve her. She and I have been very good friends for a long time and corresponded until some time back. I have not heard from her for a long time: it may be the fault of the mails, or she may have got tired of the War. In case it is the former I wish you would tell her that I have not received any answer to my letter. I hope your health is good: and trust to hear from you again soon. Col Morris will not be likely to come here.

from your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

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[137] Probably a variant spelling for Katumse (see above, note 115).

Fort Cobb C. N.
August 23rd 1860

My dear Father

Several mails had passed and I had not received any letter from you: but the last mail brought one dated July 1st; but I think it must have been for the 1st of August I am very happy to hear from you again; that you continue well during the trying heat of the summer. It has been very hot here 115° has been the highest that the thermometer has reached, but 110° has been quite common. The Camp has been healthy however. The hot weather is about over now & we can look for pleasant days until about the latter part of November when the cold will be likely to set in. We had some excitement in Camp a few days ago. About a month ago a man came up here and engaged to work for a man who is getting hay for the Post: last week we heard that he had murdered a man down in the Choctaw Nation and run away: a party had come up after him, and were at the Agency; thinking he might take the alarm if any of them came up here, they sent word up and requested the Commanding Officer to have him taken. Soon after the notice came he came in from the hay camp with a load of hay in company with several others. I went out to where they were unloading and arrested him; he did not attempt to resist. I brought him over and went with him to the Commanding Officer's hut: We sent the Sergeant, who was with us, over to the Guard house to get a set of handcuffs. While the Sergeant was gone — our prisoner was standing near a small window in the hut, and a note was brought from one of our spy parties, which I took to read: while Capt Huston[138] & myself were both interested in the note; the man made a rush for the window and got out: I followed him and was out almost on him, but he had a little the start. I drew a pistol and it snaped; in a few jumps he was in the bushes along the creek and out of sight — but we followed his trail with the aid [of] Indian Guides; he made directly for the hay camp where he had a Horse and gun. We arrived just as he had got the Horse: he attempted to escape, but his Horse was not fast enough; one of the Indians roped the horse and he then gave up: he was tied and put on his horse and we started for the Post, about four miles off. When we arrived it was some time after dark— As he was being taken off the horse he got one of his hands loose and got at a knife, with which he cut his throat. The Doctor came immediately and sewed up the gash,

[138] Daniel Huston, USMA 1848, promoted captain in 1st Infantry, Dec. 8, 1856. Stationed at Fort Cobb in 1859-61, he took part in the withdrawal of Union forces to Fort Leavenworth, May 3-31, 1861. He was a colonel in the 7th Missouri Cavalry in Feb. 1862.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 364-365.

which was very wide and deep; but, as none of the large arteries were cut, the Doctor thought he was not much hurt — but that night he died. There have been quite a number of murders lately in the Nation — supposed to be by negros and abolitionists. A short time ago a party of runaway negros were about here. Col Johnson[139] and some of his men from their camp in the Mountains met them on the road between their camp and this place. They took a woman and their pack mule: but the men then made good their escape after shooting a horse for one of Johnsons party. two days after[wards] Lt Farrand met one of the negros & exchanged shots with him, but the negro escaped again and that same night they fired on Col Johnsons party as they were going to the Agency from here. Col Johnsons party returned the fire and they suppose hit one of the negros as his horse was found some days after with marks of blood on him. Nothing has been seen of any of the negros since.

There is nothing else of any interest I believe — the Paymaster is expected soon — We have heard nothing from Capt Plummer for a long time. I hope to hear from you again by the next mail — at least that it will not be so long before I hear again as it was between the last two letters. My health is good I trust yours is so —

from your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.
September 7th 1860

My dear Father

Our mail of yesterday brought your very welcome letter of August 14th and I was rejoiced to hear that your eyes were better and your general health good. The season has been a trying one every where, I believe, and at Galveston the heat and dust must have been very anoying. We had our share of it here, but those on the Expedition against the Indians had it over us.

I received a letter by yesterday's mail from Capt McIntosh,[140] who is on the scout: it was dated at Fort Karney K. T.

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139 Middleton Tate Johnson, Texas political figure and member of the Texas Rangers.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 916-917; Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, pp. 203, 212.

140 James McIntosh, USMA 1849, promoted captain in 1st Cavalry, Jan. 16, 1857, stationed at Fort Arbuckle, 1858-59, at Fort Cobb, 1859-60. He participated in several skirmishes in the Kiowa-Comanche Expedition of 1860. Resigning his commission on May 7, 1861, he joined the Confederate Army, and was killed at the battle of Pea Ridge, March 7, 1862.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 400.

August 5th:[141] they had suffered very much from the great heat, the sand and want of water — they had a fight with a band of Kiowas about 500. The Indians were aware of their coming and prepaired for fight; but when it came to the pinch they retreated and the Horses of the troops being so much worn by the long march they could not do much against their fresh stock. The chase lasted for eighteen miles — 20 of the Kiowas were kill[ed] — several soldiers wounded — none killed — no officers hurt — four friendly Indians killed & several wounded.[142] This chase so broke down the horses that they were obliged to put into Fort Karney to recruit after which they were going out again to ward Fort Riley — there break up the Expedition and the Companies take the nearest rout to their respective posts. Among the friendly Indians killed was our old guide at Fort McKavet, "John", who went with me to Austin on one occasion. I am sorry to hear of his death he was a good Indian and one of the best Guides and trailers on the Frontier. I do not know when the Companies belonging here will return — perhaps they may winter at some of the Posts in Kansas The band of Indians they met was a "war party" they were not able to find any camp of families these, I think, must have been moved into Mexico early in the spring or some one of the three expeditions would have seen some sign of them. My time is about out for this mail and I must be closing — I am glad to hear that Miss Brannum has recovered — I suppose they will return about the last of October. I trust this will find you well.

from your affectionate son
Wm E Burnet

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141 Fort Kearney, Nebraska Territory. The date is incorrect, for the battle described was fought on August 6. The expedition reached Fort Kearney before August 9 (see below).

142 There is much confusion in secondary sources as to the place and date of this engagement. Capt. Sturgis in his official report, written at Fort Kearney on Aug. 12, traces the events leading up to the battle from his crossing of the Arkansas River on July 28 through the end of the engagement on Aug. 6. He says that his units broke camp on Aug. 6 on "Whelan's (Beaver) creek" and were in more or less constant contact with reconnoitering parties of the enemy until about noon when his companies charged the main body of Indians who had debouched onto a mile-wide plain as if to do battle. In the face of the cavalry charge the Indians broke and were pursued for 15 miles when, because of their fresher horses, they escaped on the north side of the Republican Fork. He reported 29 Indians killed in the series of engagements fought after he crossed the Arkansas.—36th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1, Vol. II, pp. 19-22. Sturgis first notified the Headquarters of the Department of Texas of the battle in a brief note on Aug. 9 in which he reported that he had engaged 600 to 800 Indians on the "Republican" at a point some 60 miles southwest of Fort Kearney. This letter and his detailed report of Aug. 12, cited above, are found in Hafen and Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-256.

Fort Cobb C. N.
September 21st 1860

My dear Father

Our two last mails have arrived and brought me no letter from you; papers came, and from that I may conclude that you were well; but I should like to get letters, they are more satisfactory — Since I last wrote nothing of any particular interest has taken place — The troops from the Expedition have not yet reeturned; they were met on their way here by an Express with Orders for them to go down into the Cherokee Country and settle some trouble occasioned by Abolitionists. We have not heard from them since they got the order — The friendly Indians have all come home they are not very well pleased with their trip: they lost five killed and had several others badly hurt. Two Companies of Artillery have been ordered from Fort Leavenworth in Kansas to Fort Smith Ark supposed to be for the purpose of driving the squatters out of the Indian Territory: they may have some trouble getting them out; but, I Expect they will have to go in the end — The Indian Agent has been changed. Mr. Blain[143] removed and Col Leeper, who was agent for the Comanches in Texas, appointed in his place — I believe the change will be for the better. Captain Barton[144] arrived a few days ago he comes direct from Washington and has orders to make a survey of the land reserved for a Military Post and from that survey a site will be selected. Barton says there is no doubt but that the appropriation will pass the next Congress for building a post here — I hope it will — if I am to stay here long. Capt Plummer still has a "sick leave" and I cannot tell when he will come back — I expect him however next month — but he may get an other extention — if his health is bad he can stay as long as he wishes to. We have had a little rain in the last few days — the first since early in the spring. The grass has almost all died and there is nothing for stock to eat — I don't know how the Indian horses will make out to get through the winter. I trust you are well and that I shall soon hear from you.

your affecionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

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143 S. A. Blain, a Texan serving as agent for the Wichitas at the time the Texas Indians were moved north of Red River in 1859. On Sep. 1 of that year Robert S. Neighbors added the Texas Indians to his charge, thus throwing S. P. Ross and Mathew Leeper out of jobs. Blain continued as agent until the above date.—Nye, *Carbine & Lance*, pp. 26-28; Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, pp. 171, 212.

144 Seth Maxwell Barton, USMA 1849, promoted captain in 1st Infantry, Oct. 31, 1857. Stationed at Fort Cobb, 1860-61, he took part in the withdrawal to Fort Leavenworth in 1861. Resigning his commission, June 11, 1861, he joined the Confederate Army and rose to brigadier general.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 391; Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 197.

Fort Cobb C. N.
October 4th 1860

My dear Father

Our last mail brought your two very welcome letters dated Sept 12th & 3rd I was particularly glad to get them as the two previous mails had failed to bring any thing from you and I was beginning to fear all was not well with you: I am happy to be relieved from that anxiety and trust that the mails will be some what more regular: but they are subject to many accidents in a new Country — The Post Office in the town of Fort Smith was burned down a short time since and all the mail matter destroyed: there was a heavy loss of property by the same fire, and two lives are supposed to have been destroyed. I received a letter from Dr Alexander[145] — the surgeon who was here last Winter and who accompanied the Expedition, they had reached Fort Smith and were to act under the directions of the Indian Agent to expel the Squatters. no move has been made and the Doctor did not know what would be done. We take but little interest in politics here; so far removed from all the excitement of party strife we have very little of its effects —

It appears that Breckinridge[146] & Lane[147] have the best chance in the south, from what I see of the papers — and they appear best able to stand against the Abolition party — I am not, however, well enough 'posted' in the matter to give much of an opinion. A disolution of the Union is, to my mind, the greatest evil that can befall this Country: and nothing short of actual and continued oppression by one portion of the Country over the other can justify it.

I did not write by the last mail I could not use my hand — My horse fell with me about ten days ago and brused me a good deal: the Doctor, who saw it, said he did not see how I escaped having my shoulder mashed all up — I fell on the point of my right shoulder on a pretty hard spot of ground and going at a pretty good rate. I am all right now but a little stiff that will soon pass off. I am quite busy again. Capt Cabell,[148] the Quartermaster has gone to Fort Smith again on

145 Dr. Charles Tripler Alexander, appointed Assistant Surgeon, Oct. 1, 1856, promoted major (Surgeon), Feb. 9, 1863, lt. col. (Surgeon), July 26, 1886, colonel (Surgeon), Feb. 27, 1890.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 156; Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

146 Vice President John C. Breckinridge, presidential candidate of the Southern Democrats in the election of 1860.

147 Senator Joseph Lane of Oregon, vice presidential nominee of the Southern Democrats in the election of 1860.

148 William L. Cabell, USMA 1850, promoted captain and Assistant Quartermaster, March 8, 1858, stationed at Fort Arbuckle with the 7th Infantry, 1851-52, and as Quartermaster in 1859. He was assigned to Fort Gibson from 1852

business and left me in charge of his affairs here; and they amount to considerable work — I have 80 odd men employed as mechanics and laborers — a two mule power saw mill cutting lumber and a train of 10 wagons: these all require to be looked after.

We are building quarters have got tired wating for an appropriation and gone to work on our own account. We build in this way — put stout post oak posts in the ground strong enough to support the roof and fill in the space between the Posts with "adobes" sun dried brick. These are made 12 x 10 x 4 inches and give a very good wall. My Company Quarters are about half done a building 90 ft long by 20 wide: the roof is to be of canvass as we have no shingles and no means of getting them. I am still living in my tent on poles but hope to have an "Adobe" hut before the winter comes on. This is the tenth letter I have written to day, (all the others short ones, on business) and my shoulder is tired — I trust you are well and will write often to your

affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N. October 12th 1860

My dear Father

I did not get any letter from you by the last mail: but as the previous one brought two I have not any right to complain. I received by this mail the Catalogue of Col Allen's School—[149] He seems to have quite a full school and I see several of the names who were with Mr Forshey, at the time I was with him in Galveston — Col Allen is, I think, a better teacher than Mr Forshey — but I should like to see them both do well — they are too near each other to have very large establishments, in so thinly settled a Country.

We have now quite a cold "norther" it blew up last night; with rain. It is quite unfortunate for us — it stops our building; and, I fear winter will be on us before we are under shelter. There is not much prospect that the two Cavalry Com-

to 1857 and was Quartermaster at Fort Cobb, 1859-60. He resigned his commission, April 20, 1861, and joined the Confederate Army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 430; Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life* (San Francisco, 1874), pp. 87, 95. Hume, *loc. cit.*, p. 413, says that Cabell supervised the construction of buildings and defensive works at Fort Cobb. For more on the construction of Fort Cobb, see Wright, *loc. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

[149] Col. R. T. P. Allen founded Kentucky Military Institute in 1845 and was its commandant during Burnet's attendance there. Col. Allen later sold his interest in the school and moved to Texas where he founded Bastrop Military Institute at Bastrop, some 30 miles southeast of Austin, Jan. 19, 1858.—William T. Simpson, KMI Alumni Secretary, to the author, Feb. 17, 1960; *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 121. For reference to Caleb G. Forshey see note 126.

panies will be here this winter — they will most likely remain until spring at Ft Smith or in that country some where. There is no other news, I believe — except a report that the Indians had stolen a large number of Col Johnson's Horses — I do not know how much truth there is in the report.

How are Puss and Em doing now? I have still a good deal of business to attend to. Capt Cabell still absent we have no news of Capt Plummer yet. I trust you are well and hope to hear from you by the next mail.

from your affectionate son
Wm E Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.
November 2 1860

My dear Father

Our last mail brought your two letters of September 25 and October 9th they were the first I have received for a long time and I was very anxious to hear [from] you again as that was the season most to apprihend sickness — I am very sorry to hear you have been Suffering from ill health and trust you have before this entirely recovered your health. I am glad you met Capt Withers,[150] he is one of the first Officers I became acquainted with and I found him very kind and obliging— I have not written to you for two mails past; for my shoulder, which I hurt some weeks ago as I wrote you got stiff and painful again; it is now quite well again but it will be some time before it will stand any great strain. this is a hard country to ride over there are so many holes made by the sand rats[151] that a Horse is liable to fall at any time. A Gentleman from Texas, a corn contractor, was out hunting a few days ago and in the Chase this [his] Horse fell and dislocated his shoulder, he had worse luck than I did. In the scouting this summer, I think, the advantage has been a little with the Indians: they are reported to have got quite a number of Horses from Col Johnson's Command (of Rangers) and there has not been much difference in the number of killed and wounded on each side — It will take a great amount of money & some lives to gain this Country and then It is almost worthless. The Cavalry Companies are still at Ft Smith, where they will probably remain this winter — We have not heard whether there is any chance of there being any difficulty with the squatters. I am glad to hear that Miss Sarah Brannum has regained her health remem-

[150] Perhaps Capt. John Withers, USMA 1849, Assistant Adjutant-General, Department of Texas, Feb. 10, 1857-June 10, 1859, and Dec. 21, 1859-Sep. 15, 1860, Assistant in The Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, Oct. 3, 1860-March 1, 1861. He resigned his commission, March 1, 1861, and joined the Confederate Army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 388-389.

[151] Pocket gophers.

ber me to them when you see them — there is no news — the weather is quite cool ice for several nights past — Write soon I trust you are well —

from your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N. Nov. 15th 1860

My dear Father

Our last mail did not bring me any letter nor the one before but as the "News" came directed in your hand I hope all is well, but I am anxious to hear as in your last you spoke of your health as having been not so good for some time past. My lame shoulder has got well again and my health is good. The weather is quite cold now. I expect it will snow to night and the wind blowes very hard from the north.

There is a Court Martial to meet here next week to try some deserters, I am one of the members — it will last some time. I suppose by this time you know who is to be our next President; we have had no news and it will be a good while before we do. I think Lincoln has the best chance. if he is Elected it will cause some Exctiement but after a little time things will fall into their usual path again: at any [rate] this is as good a time as any to test the question.

Capt Plummer, I think, will not be here before late in the winter and it will not be possible for me to get a leave of absence before spring. I am sorry that it is so. I had looked forward to this fall counting on a long visit to you and regret very much the disappointment: the time will soon pass — if you could fix it so we could visit some of our friends in Cincinnati I would like it very much. traveling now is so easy and not as costly as stopping in one place.

I send by this mail a check for $100.00 to Mr Clopper and will send an other soon — I am very sorry to hear that he has been in bad health, and hope he will entirely recover.[152] I got a letter from Wm Resor jr a short time ago — he is to be married in the Spring and is very anxious for me to come on & be present on that occasion.

I do not know of any thing else that could be of any interest to you — Write often and give me all the news — I trust your health is entirely restored and that our next mail will bring me word that it is so.

from your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

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[152] Joseph C. Clopper died at his Beechwood home near Cincinnati, Jan. 7, 1861.—Clopper, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

Fort Cobb C. N.
November 23rd 1860

My dear Father

The last mail did not bring me any letter from you but an "Observer" came and I suppose that you must be well. Since I last wrote, there has nothing taken place which will be of any interest. I am on a General Court Martial: and we have had business for several days and will be engaged for several days more — We have had several cases of desertion, and a variety of others. The cases are generaly very simple and do not require any thing more than a knowledge of the Articles of War and the Army Regulations: some cases arise where the military laws are brought forward but they are all very simple — the "Customs of Service" are the most difficult to get at they are determined by the proceedings of Courts which have been approved and by the Orders from the War Department and from the Commander in Chief which have by use become law. There are not many cases however that bring on much discussion even of these — the proceedings are short and the cases soon made out. The weather is quite cold now, we have had a little snow. It has not been as cold this season as it was last, at the same time. I suppose you know by this time who is to be our next President — The papers we see seem to leave very little doubt but that Lincoln will be elected & they seem to think it will be the cause of much trouble in the country; if not a final disolution of the Union. I cannot think that such a result can follow a simple change of the ruling party in the nation. The Republican party have (or will have) the control of the Government — how they will use their power is a matter for the future to decide — Let them go on however; I suppose, if they brake up there will be a demand for soldiers — I hope you are quite well.

from your affectionate son
W. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.
December 8th 1860

My dear Father

By our last mail I got two letters from you one enclosing a note from Miss Sallie B. to you. I regret very much to learn that you have been suffering from ill health and I trust all trace of it has passed away — It is a great comfort to me to know that you are where you can receive the attentions of friends — that is the chief reason I was so anxious for you to leave the place and go to Galveston I knew you would find friends there & make them who would help to make your time

pass pleasantly and in case of sickness would see that you did not want any thing. Such could not have been the case at our place.

Tell Miss Sallie I wrote to her about a month ago. It is time the letter reached her. I have but a few moments to write. I received a short notice to go to Fort Smith and start in the morning to take charge of a train of mules to be turned over to the Quartermaster at Ft Smith: they have reduced this to a four Company Post and we have to reduce the supply of mules in proportion: the next time I write I will do so at more length. I Hope to hear that you are quite well by the next mail which reaches me. My shoulder is well.

your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Smith Ark
December 28th 1860

My dear Father

My last letter was written from Fort Cobb C. N. near the 1st of this month. I told you I was about starting for this place with a train of mules to be turned over here to the Quartermaster — I arrived here safe with all my charge after being 10 days on the road. We had very good weather while on the road but since I arrived here it has been cold and wet. I find Ft Smith quite a pleasant place — about 3000 people in the town, which is adjoining the garrison. I was acquainted with several person[s] living here before I came down and have made many pleasant acquaintance[s] since I came down — I got here on the 20th and shall leave on the 2nd of January. I expect the trip back will be quite a severe one. The Road will be bad the creeks high and the weather cold and unpleasant — I will not antiscipate any trouble however, it comes fast enough — I meet here the officers who were stationed with us at Cobb last winter and several others — there are several very pleasant Ladies here. I have enjoyed myself very much: shall attend a small party tonight.

The political questions of the times engross every ones attention here; and the general opinion seems to be that the Union is, to say the least, in a very critical condition: what the result will be none can tell. I saw a Gentleman from Texas to day; he said the state would no doubt go out of the union and establish a 'Lone Star' republic. South Carolina has gone out and we are expecting to hear that there has been a fight between them and the troops stationed in Charleston. Such a step would no doubt hasten a disolution, and should be avoided

if possible. Fort Moultrie has been abandoned, and all the troops moved to a stronger position, we are looking anxiously to hear what will be the next step.

In case that Texas goes out I do not know what I shall do—If the Union breaks up the U. S. Army will be done away with and, like Othello, my occupation will be gone—what to do next is a question of some interest. Time must develope this question—and we must "hold on" awhile. I have not time to write much more — it is time to get ready for the party.

Remember me to my friends I may have to come home before long without my profession.

I hope your health is good mine is very good.

your affectionate son
Wm E Burnet

Fort Smith January 5/61

My dear Father

I wrote to you a few days ago from this place; and as I am still here, not having left at the time I expected to, I will take the occasion to write again. A few days ago I got a letter from Capt Plummer; he was at Little Rock in this state on his way out and wished me to remain here until he arrived. I am very sorry he did not come in time for me to get a leave of absence this winter.

Now the political trouble is so great that leaves will not be granted for any length of time. A short time will now determine the question and, from the news we receive here, there is little hope that the Union will last much longer. It appears to be the general opinion that the South will follow South Carolina. We do not hear much from Texas and there is not much said here about her affairs, South Carolina taking all the interest to her self just now. I suppose Texas will go out, if she goes, as an independant state: She has perhaps, the best situation for that of any of the states.

The present is a time to interest all and particularly those who depend on the General Government for their bread. The Pay Master here has no money and does not know when he will have any— Officers and Men are in want of their pay to live—the case looks like a bad one. Should Texas go out, I think, I will try my fortune with her— But I will not give up my Commission until I see some prospect of being provided for else where. I wish as soon as you get this you would write at length and give me your opinions on the present times: per-

haps before I get the letter the thing will be settled — still I would like you to write The Course of the President towards Major Anderson at Charleston appears to me very singular and unjust: It is impossible to hold the forts with his present force and they will not take him away or reenforce him — thus leaving him subject to be sacrificed withot and [any] reason. The times are indeed troublesome. Yesterday, the day appointed for prayer, I went to Church here and heard a very good sermon on the affairs of the times. I hope your health is good — I am quite well.

From your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Smith Jan. 10th 1861

My dear Father

Since I last wrote from this place Capt Plummer has arrived and we will start tomorrow for Ft Cobb. The weather is very pleasant now and, I hope, will remain so until we make the trip; but it is hardly to be expected.

The Telegraph is out of fix this morning and we have no news: the last was very threatening. It was supposed that several of the other southern states would go out of the Union in a few days, but there was nothing positive.

Capt Plummer thinks there is no hope for the present Government; and he has had opportunities of observing public opinion in a good many places lately —

I wish to hear from you very much. if Texas leaves the Union I shall leave the U.S. Army and try to get some military position in Texas; at least that is my present idea but I do not give up the hope that this trouble may pass over without any very serious results: yet it is best to be ready for any turn events may take. It is supposed here that Texas will not join any Confederation of the southern states, but establish a seperate Republic. Should Texas go out & you see there is no prospect of a settlement of this trouble: I wish you would take some steps to get me a place in the military organization that must be made by Texas as a part of the Confederation or as a seperate Government. Let me know as soon as possible when there is no further hope that Texas will stay in the Union and I will throw up my Commission and join you immediately. Capt Plummer thinks we have got our last month's pay: and it seems so here — there is no money to be had. I hope to find letters at Cobb from you treating of this matter — write soon and often Remember me to such as enquire after me. I trust you are quite well.

from your affectionate son
Wm E Burnet

Fort Smith Ark
August 27th 1861

My dear Father

It has been a long time since I had an opportunity of writing to you and much longer since I heard from you: still I trust you are in good health & that I shall soon be so situated that I can hear from you often and soon see you again. I wrote to you, more than a month ago, from New Orleans; since then I have written once from St Louis but that letter, very likely, did not reach you: as there was no regular mail. When I wrote from N.O. I told you I should be obliged to go to St Louis: and from there I would go to Richmond. I went to St Louis and settled my business there but could not get back to the south by any of the traveled routes without taking an oath to support the old Constitution and not to carry arms against the U.S. This I did not wish to do: and determined to try and make my way back to the south by the west; if necessary, to go beyond all the lines of settlement.

At St Louis I met with a party going south and we joined company. Mr Myer who had been sutler at Ft Arbuckle Mr Vance who had been sutler at Ft Wichita and Mr Harlan, a Farmer living near Ft Washita & an old Indian Trader. These Gentlemen had been to Washington and got a large am't of money, pay for various contracts with the old Govm't. We concluded to go to Leavenworth and from there take the route which appeared the safest — As the R.R. track had been torn up through Mo'. we were obliged to take a boat up the river — by R.R. we would have gone in thirty hrs, by the River we were seven days — our boat was fired on once but no one hurt — At the little town of Lexington we were detained 48 hrs considered as prisoners. The loading of the boat was examined and the baggage of the passengers searched, as nothing was found, we were permitted to continue our journey: We reached Leavenworth and there found Capt. Prince.[153] an old acquaintance of all of us, in Command he gave us a "Safe Conduct" through Kansas; and we determined to take the direct rout through the settlements of Kansas trusting to the Safe Conduct to protect us. I had left two Horses at Leavenworth, they had both been stolen by the Kansas Volunteers. Mr Myer had got a large traveling carrage in St Louis and two mules. Mr Harlan had left one at Leavenworth. They offered me transportation for myself and baggage. We left Leavenworth on the 7th of this month.

153 Probably Captain William Edgar Prince who was commanding officer of Company E, 1st Infantry, with station at Fort Terrett, Texas, Aug. 21, 1853. —"Freeman's Report," *loc. cit.*, Vol. LIII (Jan. 1950), p. 316; Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 807-808. (Prince was commander at Fort Arbuckle in 1858.— Nye, *Carbine & Lance*, pp. 19, 23-24.)

Kansas is infested with a band calling themselves Jay hawkers, they live by stealing from Mo': We Expected if we fell in with these that our chances were bad. Myer & Harland had a large am't of money & our party would have been a rich prize. We were well armed and determined to make the best defence we could. We got along, as far as old Fort Scott without any difficulty; there we found about 200 Jay hawkers and four Companies of K's Volunteers who had been mustered into the U.S. service. We were obliged to stop there one day to have our ambulance fixed; and, during that time, the Jay hawkers found out who we were; rather they discovered we were Southerners. They did not know that I had resigned from the U.S. Army and some of them had seen me in Fort Leavenworth; and they thought I was down there on public business.

As soon as I learned that they had determined to stop the party I went to the officer Commanding the Volunteers and told him he must protect Mr Myer & his party as they had a "Safe Conduct" which it was every officers duty to protect: he, thinking I was still an officer of the regular Army, said he would do all he could to protect them. but told me that these Jay hawkers were not under his command and were not mustered into the service and he did not know how to manage them. I told him if he would let me direct things, I thought it could be managed: he said, he would do any thing he could that I would advise. I then told him to get his Command under arms as soon as possible — I went back to the hotel & found about 100 of these Jay hawkers around it and when I went up to our room I found the rest of our party there Expecting an attack. The Jay hawkers began to shout "hang them" "hang them". I went down and told the fellow who pretended to be in Command of them that those men were under the protection of the Government and that he must take his men away. he said his men knew they were Southern men and Secessionists and that they had determined to take them and their arms and money which they were taking South. I told [him] that by violating a "Safe Conduct" he was liable to be hung. he said [he] could not restrain his men. In the mean time the Volunteer Major had his men out and brought them up to the hotel. I had the Carrages brought out and loaded, the Volunteers drawn up to keep back the Crowd and brought down Myer, Harland & Vance; told the Commanding Officer I wanted a Company of Cavalry to see them safe out of town, which he gave; I took a horse of Myer's, and told the Major I would go along to see that the orders regarding Myer & party were carried out.[154] So we marched off with an escort.

[154] Mrs. Sarah Ann Harlan writing in 1923, at the age of 94, tells about these same incidents that are given in this letter of Lt. Burnet to his father

how to get rid of them was the next question; for if they suspected I had resigned they would be very likely to take us back and our fix would be worse than ever.

After going some five or six miles the Captain said that he thought we had gone far enough. I told him I would like to take ten men and go on a little further & that he and the rest might return. As the Major had ordered him to take his directions from me he agreed to this without any difficulty; glad, in fact, to get back himself. I took the ten men and went on as fast as we could go about 10 miles when I told them they might return; one of them asked me if I was not going back with them? I said, no. At this they had some talk among them selves — but as they saw how well we were armed, the four of us having sixty-five shots without loading, they turned back withot any trouble: I do not know what they thought of me.

After they left us we went on as fast as possible for the rest of the day and nearly all night; by that time we were out of Kansas and in the Cherokee Country. We went on without any more trouble until we got to North Fork Town on the Canadian River.[155] We got there just at dark and soon after about two hundred Creek Indians rode into town: they told us we were their prisoners. We asked what for but the Captain said all he could tell us was that he had been told to take us, a party of four men in two Carrages with a led horse, and bring us to the Agency of the Creeks: As there was no chance to get out of it, we agreed to go. A guard was put over us for the night and in the morning we were marched off to the Agency over almost the same road we had passed the day before. We reached the Agency just before dark, we had made 40 miles.[156] We were then put in the Council house under a Guard and told we would be examined the next morn-

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in 1861. Mrs. Harlan even mentions the young Army officer, whom she calls "Burdette," who accompanied the party of Vance, Meyer, and Harlan, her husband, from St. Louis to Fort Smith, at the outbreak of the Civil War. Vance was sutler at Fort Washita, A. A. Meyer was sutler at Fort Arbuckle and Aaron Harlan was the government contractor for supplies of beef, corn and hay to these U. S. military posts. The Harlan home was at Tishomingo, about 12 miles northwest of Fort Washita at the time. Mrs. Harlan's account relating to the incidents given in Lieut. Burnet's letter of August 27, 1861, is in manuscript to be published as "Sarah Ann Harlan: Her Life in the Indian Territory," in *The Chronicles* later this year.—Ed.

[155] North Fork Town on the Canadian River was in the Creek Nation, and was the scene of the signing of the Confederate treaties with the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek Nations a few weeks before Lt. Burnet's party arrived here in August, 1861. The site of North Fork Town is about two miles east of present Eufaula, McIntosh County, Oklahoma.—Ed.

[156] The site of the Creek Agency (1851-74) is about 2 miles west of the present City of Muskogee, on the south side of the Arkansas River, Muskogee County, Oklahoma.—Ed.

ing. Up to this time we had no idea what we had been arrested for or what were the charges against us. We had not been treated harshly but had been very strictly guarded and of course put to many inconveniences. When we got to the Agency we found all Indians about were drawn up to receive us. They yelled and fired off their guns as we passed and kicked up an awful dust; all of which made us very mad. The next morning we were examined by a Commission and found out that a man who had seen us at the Crossing of the Arkansas had gone to the Agency & reported that Myer who he knew by sight, was going through with some Northern spies and one of them was an officer of the Army. As we could give no proof, Except our simple statement, they decided to send us on to this place for trial. We were put in charge of a Captain of La' Volunteers who had been sent to the Agency to muster in to service the reg't of Creeks. All that took one day the next morning we set out for this place and arrived after two days hard travel. Of course when we got here where we were all known we were at no more trouble and it all passed for a good joke, but it was very anoying at the time. We got here day before yesterday. I was on my way, when taken at North Fork, to see you. I have talked with Major Clark C.S.A. who is in Command here and he advises me to go at once to Richmond if I want to get a place in the Southern Army. As he speaks reasonably I have determined to adopt that course. I will start in the morning by stage for Memphis & by Rail from there to Richmond — With good luck I will get there in seven days. I am very sorry I cannot get to see you but I hope it will not be very long before I will do so. Write to me at Richmond. Tell Miss Brannum I should like to hear from her. I hope nothing will now prevent my writing to you regularly and that I shall hear from you. I [t]rust soon to see you again and that your health is good. your affectionate son

Wm. E. Burnet

WILLIAM L. McCLELLAN, CHOCTAW AGENT, WEST

*By Ben Collins Pickett**

William L. McClellan, the writer's great-great-grandfather, was appointed United States agent for the Choctaw Indians west of the Mississippi river on March 18, 1825. In February of 1827, he selected the site and erected a building for his agency in the Choctaw Nation, near a big spring about eighteen miles west of Fort Smith by the meanders of the road at that time, traversing rough country along the ridges and across deep draws. This spring later was known as the "New Hope Spring," about a mile (two miles by the meanders of the road) east of another spring which became known as the Choctaw Agency Spring around which the village of Skullyville grew up, a noted place in the history of Oklahoma.[1]

As a result of treaties made with the Indian tribes, the United States in its earliest history assumed the relation of guardian for its Indian "wards," and maintained this relation with credit for more than a century. Responsible men were needed in the Indian country to carry out provisions of the treaties fairly that no advantage be taken of the people of the Indian tribes in their homes and lands. These men thus appointed were first known as "factors" because their work was mostly commercial in connection with a trading post or "factory." Later, they were known as agents ("Indian Agents") when the duties in the position increased and were more supervisory, especially when the Choctaws and other southeastern tribes were moved west to new lands in the Indian Territory. The early Indian agents were as a rule men of good reputation, and usually were reserve officers of the U.S. Army with a background of distinguished military service. Almost without exception they were men of more than mediocre ability.

William L. McClellan was born in Rockingham County, North Carolina, on April 15, 1779. His grandparents had come to America from Scotland early in the Eighteenth Century and settled in North Carolina, and his father, William McClellan,

* Mr. Ben Collins Pickett makes this contribution to *The Chronicles*, on his ancestor William L. McClellan, Choctaw Agent, compiled from his extensive research in the early historical records of Oklahoma. Mr. Pickett served four years in the U. S. Army, World War II, has been employed in Stanolind Oil and Gas Company and makes his home in Fort Worth, Texas. —Ed.

[1] Letter from Muriel H. Wright to Ben C. Pickett, August 1, 1960. McClellan and Pickett family records and reminiscences are among the primary sources for data used in writing this article.

Sr., was a soldier in the Revolutionary War.[2] The McClellan family removed to East Tennessee about 1790 and settled near Knoxville. William received such education as the frontier afforded. He was a tall, wiry man, with a ruddy complexion and with bright red hair and moustache. When William was of age, he enlisted in the U. S. Army. On May 3, 1808, he was commissioned 1st Lieutenant in the Seventh Regiment of U.S. Infantry.[3]

William L. McClellan married Elizabeth Conway Sevier, daughter of Governor John Sevier and Catherine (Sherrill) Sevier, in Knoxville, Tennessee, on August 9, 1810. This marriage notice appeared in the newspaper, *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, dated August 11, 1810: "Lt. William L. McClellan, of the U. S. Army, to Elizabeth C. Sevier, daughter of John Sevier, August 9, 1810, ceremony performed by Rev. Samuel G. Ramsay."[4] Lieutenant McClellan and his young bride lived for awhile in the brick mansion of Governor Sevier in Knoxville. McClellan was promoted to Captain on March 1, 1811, and soon after, he left Knoxville to fight against the British in the War of 1812. He was commissioned Major in the Sixteenth Infantry Regiment on May 24, 1814. He joined with General Andrew Jackson and other Tennessee comrades to defeat the British in the Battle of New Orleans. Major McClellan was honorably discharged from the service on June 15, 1815, soon after the end of the War, and he then returned to Knoxville for a short time.

From Knoxville, on February 27, 1817, William McClellan wrote a letter to Colonel Return J. Meigs, U. S. Agent for the Cherokee Indians, saying:[5] "If the information is correct, & there is an agent to be appointed for the Cherokees on White River, I will take it as a great favor if you will be so good to use your influence with the War Department to procure me the appointment. . . ."

McClellan received this appointment, and he served as Cherokee Indian agent until 1821. There are preserved in the National Archives at Washington, D. C., many of the William

[2] *Knoxville Register* obituary of February 28, 1827, reported William McClellan [Sr.] was a Revolutionary War soldier, and that he died on February 24, 1827, in Knoxville, aged 84.—From the McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[3] Francis B. Heitman, Editor, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army From It's Organization, September 29, 1789 to March 2, 1903*, (Washington, D. C., 1903), Vol. I, p. 656.

[4] *The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, (Knoxville, 1939), Vol. XI, pp. 118-119.

[5] Letter from William McClellan to Col. R. J. Meigs, February 27, 1817, Indian Affairs, Letters Received. National Archives, Washington, D. C. (The National Archives hereinafter cited as NA.)

L. McClellan letters, both to and from him, that were written during the twelve-year period, 1817-1829, when he served as United States government agent for the Indian tribes. The McClellan letters and other such documents found in the Archives give contemporary accounts of conditions and events during those early pioneer days when such official correspondence provided a very worthwhile and enduring source of information concerning the frontier regions of western Arkansas and the Indian territory that many years later became Oklahoma.

On February 17, 1821, Thomas L. McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington, wrote William McClellan:[6]

> Sir, you are appointed by the President [James Monroe] with the advice and consent of the Senate — Factor for the U.S. factory on Red River, called the Sulphur Fork factory. You were nominated by me to the assurance of your friends Col. Williams and Major Jones, that you would not only accept the appointment but go forthwith to your charge. The death of the Factor makes your immediate movement for the establishment necessary. ....

Major McClellan accepted the new appointment, and on May 20, 1821, he addressed a letter to Thomas L. McKenney from Sulphur Fork, Red River (Natchitoches), in Louisiana saying:[7]

> Sir, I arrived here late last evening. I have had a long and fatiguing journey; I came through Cado Nation. They were very well pleas'd to see me. They have left a great quantity of peltries at this place waiting my arrival. The furs and pelts on hand when I arrived are very much injured by the worms. I find that a great many of the goods on the shelves are damaged with the rats and moths. . . . . I stand in need of a quantity of ropes to pack the furs, etc., and a quantity of salt & soap would be of great service here for the Indians as the greater part that trade here enquire for those articles. . . . .

William McClellan served as factor at Sulphur Fork, Red River, until March 18, 1825, when he received a letter from T. L. McKenny under the heading of Department of War, Office Indian Affairs, excerpts of which follow:[8]

> Sir, I am directed by the Secretary of War to inform you that you have been appointed by the President of the United States [John Quincy Adams] with the advice and consent of the Senate, Indian Agent for the Choctaws west of the Mississippi.
>
> .... You will, if the appointment be accepted prepare at as early a period as possible to enter upon the duties of your office. .... Your salary is fixed by law at the rate of $1500 per annum, in full for your services. ....

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[6] Thomas L. McKenney to William McClellan, February 17, 1821, Letters Sent, Office Indian Affairs, NA.

[7] William McClellan to McKenney, May 20, 1821, Letters Received, Indian Affairs, NA.

[8] T. L. McKenney to William McClellan, March 18, 1825, Letters Sent, dian Affairs, NA.

An indorsement to McKenney's letter of appointment stated McClellan had been recommended for the new position by Representative Sam Houston of Tennessee in a letter received February 5, 1825, and forwarded to the Indian Affairs Office.[9] Major McClellan received the letter notifying him of his appointment while he was at Port Gibson, Mississippi, and on April 25, 1825, from that place, he wrote a letter to James Barbour, Secretary of War, in which he stated he accepted the position and forwarded his bond for the "faithful performance of the duties of Choctaw agent west of the Mississippi."[10]

On July 1, 1825, McKenney wrote to McClellan again, enclosing his new commission and directing him to report to Governor Izard of Arkansas Territory:[11]

> . . . . who will decide upon the location of your agency; and if it be within the limits of Arkansas, you will be subordinate to him as superintendent of the Indian affairs for the territory, and you will report from time to time the dispositions of the Choctaws west of the Mississippi. You are referred to the Governor for instructions in detail; these will embrace the periods and forms of your accounts; the location and building of the Agency house .... the procurement of blacksmith, interpreter, etc., according to the provisions of the Treaty of 1820, and again recognized in that of 1825. ....

There followed on October 10, 1825, a letter from Governor George Izard at Little Rock to Agent McClellan directing him to proceed through the southern part of the territory to the Choctaw villages there to direct and prepare those Indians for their removal to the district appointed for them in the West, and:[12]

> .... you will afterwards please to continue your journey down the Mississippi to the place where the stores provided by the government for the Choctaw's use are deposited. These will be forwarded to you to the mouth of White River, from whence transportation must be provided to Fort Smith. With regard to the point at which the Choctaw Tribe shall cross the Mississippi you will be governed by the best information you can procure on the subject; taking care to let me know beforehand the time when the journey of these Indians is to commence, & the numbers of the different Bands. When you shall have made the necessary dispositions, you go on to Fort Smith, taking this place (Little Rock) on your way thither. ....

In the spring of 1826, Major McClellan arrived at Fort Smith, where he had been directed to locate his Choctaw Agency, and he, a blacksmith, and an interpreter occupied some of the

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[9] Letter from Sam Houston to Secretary of War, February 5, 1825, War Department, Letters Received, NA.

[10] William McClellan to Secretary of War, April 25, 1825, Letters Received, Indian Affairs, NA.

[11] T. L. McKenney to William McClellan, July 1, 1825, Letters Sent, Indian Affairs, NA.

[12] Letter from George Izard to William McClellan, October 10, 1825, Letters Received, Indian Affairs, NA.

old buildings at the fort. He found most of the buildings at Fort Smith in a dilapidated condition, the floors, doors, and windows having been carried away by the troops when they removed to Fort Gibson.[13] He repaired some of the old quarters at the Post and stored the arms and supplies for the Choctaws that he had brought with him. On orders from Governor Izard, the agent demolished other buildings that he described as being too "ruinous and too unhealthy to repair."

In January of 1827, William McClellan began the erection of a building for his new agency in the Choctaw Nation west, eighteen miles, by the meanders of the road, west of Fort Smith, near a fine spring.[14] The following month, he wrote a letter to his friend Colonel Matthew Arbuckle, military commander of the Arkansas Territory; the complete text of this letter follows:[15]

Choctaw Agency, Fort Smith
2 February, 1827

Dear Col. Arbuckle:

Peter Folsom, a Choctaw half breed, made application to me some time ago to keep a ferry at Fort Smith on the Choctaw land. I granted him permission agreeable to his request. He has a fine boat, & has

[13] William McClellan to James Barbour, February 16, 1827, Letters Received, War Department, NA.

[14] William McClellan erected the house for the Choctaw Agency in the Choctaw country west of Ft. Smith at a fine spring which he called "Pebble Spring," apparently the same one later known as "New Hope Spring." The distance by the very rough road from Ft. Smith was 18 miles, which was shortened to 13 miles when a new road was cut and improved early in 1832. In the winter of 1832, the old McClellan house was reported deserted and in a dilapidated condition, the widow of William McClellan having moved from Pebble Spring, to a new location a half mile away where she kept an inn. In the autumn of 1831 and the winter and spring of 1832, Sub-agent David McClellan erected several buildings in the vicinity preparatory for the removal of the Choctaws to this country, including a large warehouse and corn cribs on the Arkansas River, about a mile upstream from "Herald's Bluff" (later site of Ft. Coffee). A new house was erected for the Agency near another fine spring about a mile west (2 miles by the meander of the road) from Pebble Spring. This new Agency was reckoned 14 miles west of Ft. Smith, and about 3½ miles from the big warehouse on the Arkansas. The Choctaw Agent, Maj. Francis W. Armstrong made this new house his residence, to which he brought his family in September, 1833. A post office, called "Choctaw Agency," was established here in June, 1833, with Maj. Armstrong as postmaster. The spring nearby is still clear flowing, and known as the old "Choctaw Agency Spring" located about a mile east of present Spiro in LeFlore County. It may be noted here that many records through the years after 1831 refer to this general locality as the "Choctaw Agency,"—including Agent Armstrong's residence (Ainsworth's, burned 1847), the spring nearby, McClellan's Pebble Spring (or New Hope), and even Sub-Agent David McClellan's warehouse and corn cribs which were destroyed by the big flood on the Arkansas in June, 1833. At the time, the iron and some of the timber of the warehouse were salvaged, and the building was re-erected on the bluff above the river, on which Ft. Coffee was established a year later. The Choctaw Agency house owned by Gov. Tandy Walker was known as "Walkers's Station" on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route, 1858-1860.—Ed.

[15] William McClellan to Matthew Arbuckle, February 2, 1827, Letters Received, Indian Affairs, NA.

commenced setting citizens over the river. Before he set any citizen over, he notified Capt. Rogers in presence of a witness; that he (Rogers) was to set only the military over; & forbid him to set any citizens over; that he claimed the profits of the ferry as Choctaw land.

It has been reported here that you were displeased at young Folsom for keeping a ferry on the Choctaw land at Fort Smith. I do assure you, in granting him permission to keep a ferry on Choctaw land, I went agreeable to my idea of the Choctaw Treaty of 1825. If it should be your opinion that the Choctaws have no right to keep a ferry on their land at this place, I will submit the case to the War Department & have it amicably settled. I do assure you that I feel no disposition to go contrary to my instructions & what I am led to believe is justice to the Choctaws as an agent of the government. This I consider to be my duty.

I am erecting building for the Choctaw Agency, 18 miles above this at a fine spring, it would be called good water in the States. I am in great hopes that it will prove to be a healthy place as we have all suffered here.

Mrs. McClellan sends her respects to you. It would give us pleasure to see you at our quarters at any time. Please to accept of my best wishes for your prosperity & happiness. I am respectfully your ob't. serv't.

William McClellan, C.A.W.M.

The government had made arrangements to receive at the new agency a number of Choctaw who were emigrating west on their own resources. After they arrived at the Mississippi, no further word was received from them for several months. Agent William McClellan sent the following letter to P. B. Porter, Secretary of War, dated September 20, 1828:

I do assure you that every exertion on my part will be used to influence the Choctaws to migrate to their country here, which is a superior country to the one they now occupy East of Mississippi river. .... The soil on the water courses here is equal to any and the country abounds with all kinds of game of the forest. .... I am pleased to hear that I am out of the limits of the Arkansas Territory & that my communications are to be direct with the Department of War.

On September 28, 1828, Major McClellan forwarded another report to the Secretary of War under the heading of "Choctaw Agency, Pebble Spring," stating:[16]

The emigration of those Choctaws to their lands have been retarded by white settlers who have occupied their land for a long time. The Choctaws were fearful to come on their land that those white settlers wou'd commit some outrages on them or their property. This obstacle in a short time will be entirely removed; those white settlers are moving east of the Choctaw line to claim the donations of land allowed them by Congress. ....

At this time there are upwards of 1000 Choctaws west of the Mississippi who are settled on Red River & scattered in small villages in the State of Louisiana. Some of them are upwards of 300

[16] William McClellan to P. B. Porter, September 28, 1828, Letters Received, Indian Affairs, NA.

miles from their land. The greater part of them are too poor to come to their land without provisions were furnished them on their march. I am fully persuaded that if I was authorized to furnish them with provisions that I cou'd bring the greater number of them to this place. . . .

Another great obstacle to Choctaw emigration was the long standing hostility between the Choctaw tribe east of the Mississippi and the Osage Indians. Agent McClellan reported to Washington that some of the Choctaw located on the Red River had Osage prisoners, and in order to restore peace between the tribes he recommended that Nathaniel Pryor be appointed agent for the Osage; and that Mr. Pryor accompany him and some of the Osage chiefs to the Red River for the purpose of releasing these Osage captives.[17] Soon the Choctaw east of the Mississippi made overtures of peace to the Osage Indians, and sent word to their people on the Red River to commit no more hostilities against their enemies. McClellan believed this removed a great barrier to the westward emigration of the tribes.

Agent McClellan was occupied with additional problems during 1827 and 1828. Some of the white settlers that were squatting on the land reserved for the Indians resented the consideration shown the Choctaw by the Government and in several instances had violated the rights of the Indians. Fearing a possible general outbreak of hostilities, Major McClellan wrote the Secretary of War on August 14th, 1828, stating:[18]

Should any troops be allowed to guard the frontiers on the south side of the Arkansas river I wou'd suggest the most eligible situation in the vicinity of the Agency, which is 18 miles from Fort Smith. From this place [Choctaw Agency] east to the Choctaw line it is from 10 to 12 miles. Troops stationed at Fort Smith wou'd be of no safeguard to the Agency or frontier. This I submit for your consideration: one company of troops stationed say not farther than 2 or 3 miles from this Agency wou,d be of great benefit, to keep peace between the whites & Indians.

McClellan told the white citizens that they might cross the Arkansas to Lovely's Purchase north of the River (northeastern Oklahoma) but many refused to go. However, early in 1829, the agent reported that most of the whites had removed from Indian lands.

In February, 1827, Major McClellan had complained to the War Department that he had encountered a great many Indians near the agency with "bottles of spirits, & intoxicated, which they say they got from the store."[19] These Indians referred to a store operated by two white men near Fort Smith

[17] Grant Foreman, *Indians & Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830* (Norman, 1936), pp. 263-266.

[18] William McClellan to Secretary of War, August 14, 1828, Letters Received, Indian Affairs, NA.

[19] William McClellan to Secretary of War, February 16, 1827, Letters Received, Indian Affairs, NA.

who had a license from the government to trade with the Indians in dry goods. McClellan reported that he had prevented all boats from landing whiskey within the Choctaw boundary line, and he suggested that this liquor problem was a source of constant friction.

The military commander of the Arkansas Territory, Colonel Arbuckle, had objected to Peter Folsom, Choctaw, from operating his ferry across the Arkansas river at Fort Smith, and the Colonel said that Fort Smith was still in charge of military authorities. This dispute which began early in 1827 was probably the start of the controversy that continued for many years between the Choctaw and the U. S. Government, involving title to the land formerly occupied by the Post.[20]

On May 24, 1829, William L. McClellan died suddenly at the Choctaw Agency that he had established. He was fifty years old when he died. The agency region on the south side of the Arkansas river later became a center of interest and here developed a village and trading settlement of some importance known as Skullyville. This place, near the present Spiro, Oklahoma, has a historic and proud past.

After Mr. McClellan's death the agency was then attached to the new Cherokee agency, and on July 29, 1829, William McClellan's younger brother, David, was appointed Choctaw sub-agent.[21] In March, 1831, Francis W. Armstrong was appointed agent to make a census of the Choctaws in Mississippi, and on September 7, 1831, his post was established as a full agency in the Choctaw Nation west. The McClellan family then removed about half a mile from the agency where the widow, Elizabeth (Sevier) McClellan, kept an inn.

Sam Houston was a visitor at McClellan's Choctaw Agency in Indian territory. Houston, Major McClellan, and Mrs. McClellan were friends back in the days of their youth in East Tennessee. General Houston and William McClellan were comrades-in-arms during the War of 1812, and in 1825, Houston, as a Tennessee Congressman, had recommended McClellan for the position as Choctaw agent west.

Early in 1829, Sam Houston had suddenly resigned as Governor of Tennessee and removed to the Indian territory just west of the Arkansas boundary to live with his Cherokee Indian friends. He established residence for awhile northwest of Fort Gibson at his trading post which he called "Wigwam Neosho." Following is the complete text of a letter that Sam Houston wrote to the Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, in July, 1829, while Houston was living near Fort Gibson. At

[20] Foreman, *Indians & Pioneers*, pp. 263-266.

[21] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860* (Norman 1933), p. 164. The Cherokee Agency was east of Fort Gibson on Bayou Menard.—Ed.

the time Houston wrote this letter, William McClellan had recently died at the Choctaw agency, and Mr. Houston was bereaved to find upon visiting Mrs. McClellan that she was in distress:[22]

"Fort Smith 22nd July 1829

Dear Sir, A visit from my wigwam to Mrs. McClellan at the Choctaw Agency has thrown me here, and I have addressed General Andrew Jackson on the subject of her situation, as it is peculiar, and distressing—also I addressed him on the subject of Capt. McClellan's [David] application for the vacant appointment. I presume the letter will be handed over to you.

An old Choctaw Chief called on me today, and complained that the white people were on their lands, and were treating them badly. They take the Choctaws houses, and will not let them go into them. Some emigrants have lately arrived and have not houses to go in to, and complain that Gen. Jackson, in a treaty with them east of the Mississippi told them if they would come west that they should be happy, and when they have come that the whites are on their land and they are not happy. Capt. McClellan furnished them with corn, and does all he can to keep and content them, but he has no power, and acts from motives of humanity, and a wish to render service to the Government. I have assured him that you will soon grant relief to the Indians & take such measures as their situation required.

William McClellan's widow, Elizabeth (Sevier) McClellan, was of sturdy pioneer stock herself, cut from the same mold as her father, General John Sevier, one of the founders and the first Governor of Tennessee. She had come west with her husband soon after the War of 1812, and where the Major's career carried him, she followed, enduring all the privations, rigors, and hardships of the frontier. When her husband died, Mrs. McClellan remained in the West and reared her children there instead of returning to life of comparative luxury and wealth in Tennessee where she herself was reared and where many of her people still resided.[23] She was truly a pioneer woman of the West. She died on June 26, 1860, aged seventy years.

All of the McClellan children were reared to adulthood within the boundary of the present state of Oklahoma and near the western boundary of the Arkansas Territory in Crawford County, and all married distinguished mates.[24] The record of

[22] Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, Editors, *The Writings of Sam Houston*, (Austin, Texas 1938) Vol. 1, pp. 139-140. Acknowledgment is given here to University of Texas Press for permission to use the Houston letter.

[23] Zella Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families — The Sevier Family*, Chattanooga, Tennessee, 1926), Vol. IV, pp. 290-291.

[24] William and Elizabeth C. McClellan were the parents of six children, namely: (1) John Sevier McClellan, born September 3, 1811; (2) Ruth Ann McClellan, born September 29, 1813; (3) Catherine Barbara McClellan, born January 29, 1816; (4) Martha Eliza McClellan, born September 16, 1818; (5) Mary Jane McClellan, born September 14, 1821; and (6) Cornelia Chambers McClellan, born April 8, 1824.

this family is an interesting genealogical and historical study of people who had a vital part in the development and expansion of this frontier. It is too voluminous to relate here, except to give briefly the record of marriages of the children of William and Elizabeth McClellan.

Catherine Barbara McClellan and George C. Pickett[25] were married November 3, 1831, at the Choctaw agency by the Rev. W. B. Larrimore. George C. Pickett and John Gregg, his brother-in-law, were the founders of Pickett and Gregg Company, a busy trading establishment at Skullyville, located about one mile east of the present Spiro, Oklahoma, in the early eighteen thirties.[26] Several years later, these merchants opened another trading business in Van Buren, Crawford County, Arkansas, where they were joined in partnership by Josiah Gregg, John's younger brother.[27] One of the earliest deeds, or conveyances of land in Oklahoma was recorded and certified by George C. Pickett on August 30, 1832, when he was serving as clerk of the Circuit Court of Crawford County, Arkansas Territory. This was an Osage reserve tract (Osage Treaty of 1825) purchased by Sam Houston, located in the vicinity of present Salina, in Mayes County.[28]

In April, 1839, Pickett and Gregg Company of Van Buren, equipped, financed, and charted an expedition for Santa Fe and Chihuahua, Mexico. Their little caravan carved out a pioneer route across Oklahoma and the prairies that was followed for many years by subsequent important expeditions. The event marked a new era for the Arkansas frontier.[29] The celebrated Pickett and Gregg expedition departed from Van Buren on May 1, 1839, carrying a select stock of about $25,000 worth of merchandise, principally dry goods, and bound for Chihuahua,

[25] George C. Pickett, the writer's great-grandfather, was born near Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, on February 6, 1802. In 1822 he removed to the Arkansas Territory and settled in Crawford County in the village that later became Van Buren Arkansas. He was clerk of the circuit court of Crawford County from 1823 to 1833. In addition, he was Postmaster at the old Crawford Court House in 1823 and 1824. George C. Pickett was Justice of the Peace of tht Big Creek township (Crawford County) in 1829 and 1830. He built a two-story frame house a little over one mile northeast of Van Buren in 1836 that remained in the Pickett family until 1867. He was an early settler in Crawford County, and Pickett and Gregg Company was probably the first mercantile establishment in Van Buren. Mr. Pickett died on October 18, 1855, and he was buried in the Fairview Cemetery in Van Buren. Clara B. Eno, *History of Crawford County, Arkansas*, (Van Buren, Arkansas, 1951) pp. 19, 43, 48, 194-197, 436.

[26] Grant Foreman, *Marcy & The Gold Seekers*, (Norman, 1939) p. 160.

[27] Maurice Garland Fulton, *Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg*, (Norman, 1941), Vol. I, pp. 73, 90, 119, 120.

[28] Grant Foreman, "Some New Light on Houston's Life Among the Cherokee Indians," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* Vol. IX, No. 2 (June, 1931), pp. 139-52.

[29] Eno, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

Mexico.[30] The caravan consisted of thirty-four men, led by Josiah and John Gregg, and eighteen wagons, half drawn by mules and the others by oxen (eight of each to the team). The expedition proceeded west from Van Buren, crossed the Arkansas River at Webbers Falls and traveled on through the Creek Nation, passing by way of North Fork Town (near present Eufaula) and the Indian settlements near present Holdenville (Hughes County) and Asher (Pottawatomie County) to the site of Chouteau's Fort north of present Lexington (Cleveland County). From Chouteau's Fort, the route lay between the Canadian rivers through Western Oklahoma. Forty U. S. Dragoons met the caravan 150 miles west of Fort Gibson, and served as guards over part of the way to Santa Fe. On his return from Santa Fe, Gregg traveled on the south side of Canadian River to present Blain and Dewey counties, crossed the river and then followed his outward going route to Van Buren. Parts of Gregg's trail were along the roads traveled by emigrants in the "gold rush" to California, 1849.[31]

John Gregg, a partner in the Pickett and Gregg enterprise, married Martha Eliza McClellan, on November 25, 1835. They were married at the Choctaw agency by the Reverend Dr. Palmer. John Sevier McClellan, the only son of William and Elizabeth C. McClellan, married Susan Gregg, the younger sister of John and Josiah Gregg, to make this relationship more binding. They were married August 15, 1838.

Ruth Ann McClellan, the eldest daughter of William and Elizabeth McClellan, married Judge Richard S. C. Brown of Crawford County, Arkansas, on February 26, 1840. Rev. Alvin Mussett performed the marriage ceremony in Van Buren. Judge Brown was very prominent in the early history of Crawford County and the Indian country to the west. He represented Crawford and Scott Counties, Arkansas, in the senate of the first legislature; and he was Major General of

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[30] The adventurous journey of the 1839 expedition from Van Buren to Chihuahua is graphically portrayed by Josiah Gregg in a chapter of his book, *Commerce of the Prairies*, that was first published in New York City, 1844, revised and reprinted by Southwest Press in Dallas, Texas, 1933.

[31] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 241-43. (Gregg's escort of Dragoons was under the command of Lieut. James Monroe Bowman, graduate of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, 1827. He served as 3d Lieut. of Mounted Rangers in the "Black Hawk Expedition, 1832" as 2nd Lieut. of First Dragoons on the Leavenworth Expedition to the Wichita Village on the North Fork of Red River, 1834, and on the Canadian River Expedition with Gen. Matthew Arbuckle and Com. Stokes in the making of the Camp Holmes Treaty of 1835; and served at Ft. Gibson, 1836. He died at old Ft. Wayne in the Cherokee Nation, on July 21, 1839, aged 31 years. Part II of *Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies* was reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, 1748-1846, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, Ohio, 1905].—Ed.)

the first division of the Arkansas militia in 1838.[32] In 1847, President Polk appointed him Indian agent to the Cherokees. *The Fort Smith Herald* of May 18, 1850, reported: "Judge R. S. C. Brown, recent Cherokee agent, had left Van Buren about the first of May for Fort Washita, where he expected to head a party planning to leave soon to seek for gold in the West." On November 1, 1850, the same newspaper gave this item: "A report is received of a company of one hundred and fifty Cherokee emigrants, headed by their former agent, Judge R. S. C. Brown of Sebastian County, who passed Dona Ana in July, 1850, and entered upon Cooke's wagon road. They planned to search for gold on the Gila River, it was said."[33]

Mary Jane McClellan married Gabriel J. Rains at the Choctaw agency on October 1, 1835. They were married by the Reverend S. A. Worcester who had recently arrived at Dwight Mission from the East. Gabriel J. Rains had a distinguished career as an officer of the U. S. Army.[34] After his graduation from West Point in 1827, he was stationed on the western frontier and had a prominent part in the removal of the Choctaw Indians to their new home in the West. He served with the 7th Infantry at Fort Gibson for several years, and in 1831 and 1832, he was placed on detached duty at Fort Smith as commissary officer, disbursing supplies to the Choctaw immigrants.[35] At the outbreak of the War between the States, Rains resigned from the U. S. Army and enlisted in the Confederate States Army in which he was later commissioned Brigadier-General. During the Civil War, he introduced a new technique and focussed military attention upon the future possibilities of explosives when he originated very ingenious percussion type devices for land mines.

Sevier McClellan Rains, son of Gabriel J. and Mary Jane (McClelland) Rains, graduated from West Point in 1876, and while serving as an officer in the U. S. Cavalry, young Rains was killed in action on July 3, 1877, in a battle with Chief Joseph's Nez Perces braves near the Cottonwood river, Idaho.[36]

The storied old pioneer families of McClellan, Sevier, Gregg, Rains, Brown, and Pickett made important contributions to the historical annals of the old southwestern frontier. Some of their descendents are still living in eastern Oklahoma and western Arkansas today.

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[32] Eno, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 197-198.

[33] Foreman, *Marcy & The Gold Seekers*, pp. 93 and 114.

[34] Dumas Malone, Editor, *Dictionary of American Biography*, (New York City, 1935), Vol. XV, pp. 328-329.

[35] Letters from Lt. G. J. Rains to General George Gibson, Correspondence Concerning Indian Removal. U. S. Senate Document No. 512, 23rd. Congress, 1st. Session, Vol. 1 and Vol. II, pp. 824, 828, 837, 843 856.

[36] Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 813.

THE COMANCHE BRIDGE BETWEEN OKLAHOMA AND MEXICO, 1843-1844

*By Ralph A. Smith**

The demand for Mexican livestock, captives, and plunder increased after American commissioners made treaties of amity and trade with the Indians of the South Plains in the 1830's. The Comanche and Kiowa consequently stepped up their predatory raids below the Rio Grande.

These incursions extended beyond the Tropic of Cancer frequently. Their deepest penetrations of Mexico put the Indians at points a thousand miles straight south of their home range in Kansas and Oklahoma. The great Comanche plunder road made up along the Arkansas. In crossing West Texas it forked several times before reaching the Rio Grande. These prongs extended over the river at three separate points. They made as many big trunks in the Mexican country. One line can be referred to as the western. It entered Mexico opposite, Lajitas, Texas, and bore southwestward over the Chihuahuan desert to the Rio Conchos. This branch ran up the Conchos, then the Rio Florida through the heart of the Department. Along the way the raiders found many settlements and good farms for plundering. Descending into Durango this trunk entered the lowlands south of El Torreón de las Cañas. It continued through sierra gaps that let the invaders into the valley of the Rio del Oro and from there to the Ramos and on into the country west of the capital, Victoria de Durango. There they took hundreds of captives and thousands of head of livestock. The war trail penetrated Zacatecas and passed over the Tropic of Cancer before sprangling out among mountain villages and ranches in central Mexico.

The second, or middle, trunk was probably the most used line. After crossing the Rio Grande at the Chisos Ford, it followed the present Chihuahua-Coahuila boundary over the Bolson de Mapimi. This trail traversed eastern Durango, hit Zacatecas, and reached through the Department of San Luis Potosi into the coastal Department of Tamaulipas. Evidence indicates that the Comanche stretched it on southward at times even into Queretaro.

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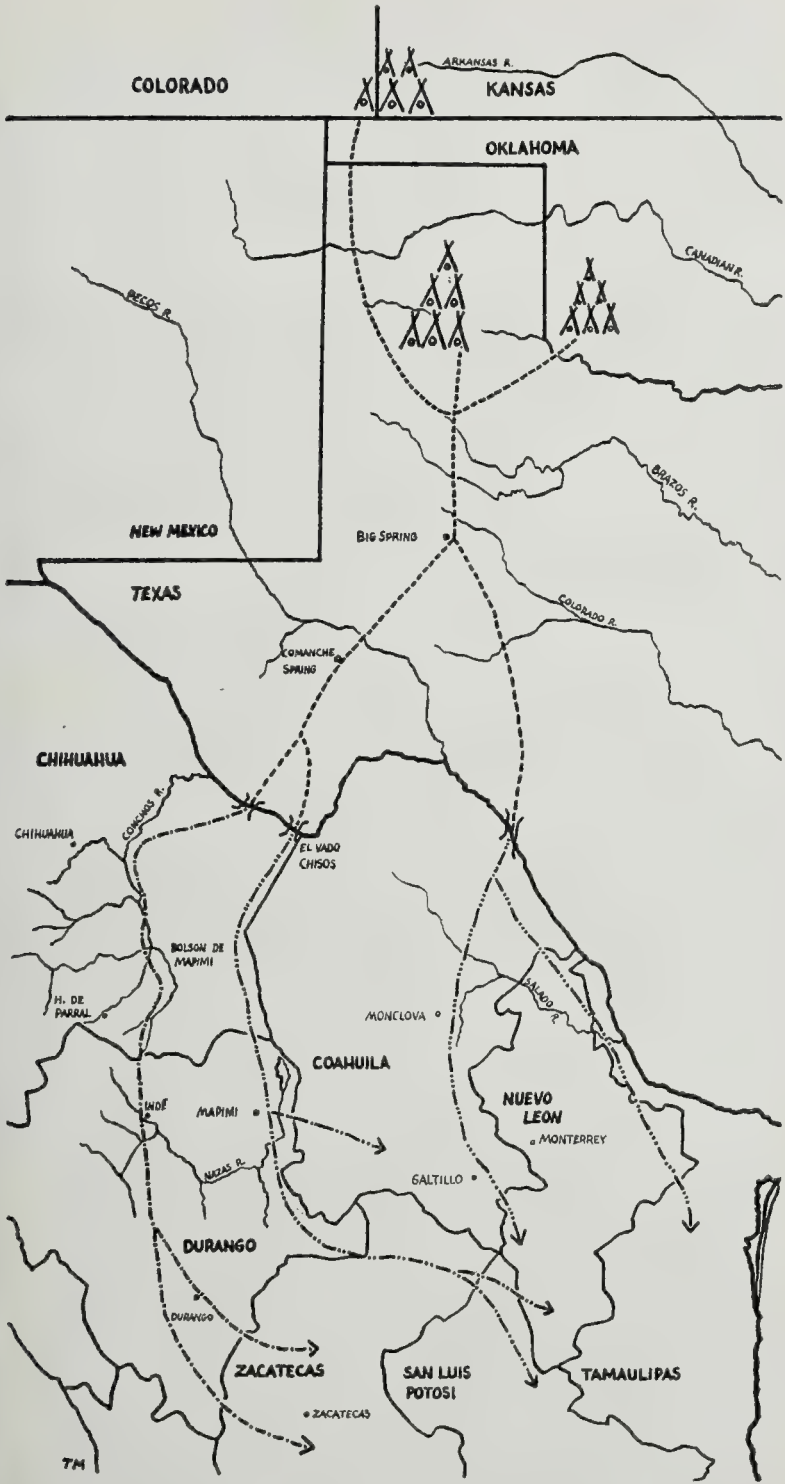
* Dr. Ralph A. Smith is a native of Texas. A graduate of Stephen F. Austin College, Nacogdoches, he has his Ph.D. degree from the University of Texas (1938). He served in the U. S. Army in World War II. His writing has included articles on farm movements in politics, French explorations in the Southwest and U. S. Indian affairs. His paper contributed here in *The Chronicles* has been produced as the result of travel and historical research in Mexico and the United States for more than ten years.—Ed.



(R. A. S., 1961)

Map showing the Comanche roads from the South Plains into Mexico, about 1840-1870.

The third, or eastern, trunk of the Comanche's Great War Trail crossed the Rio Grande opposite Las Moras in Texas and entered Coahuila. Indians taking this route pushed across Coahuila into Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas. All of these main lines had laterals that shot out in different directions and covered thousands of square miles like a net. They enabled the raiders to reach every inch of Mexico from a line west of the Rio Conchos eastward to the Gulf of Mexico.

Plains Indians made the Bolson de Mapimi their favorite rendezvous while in Mexico. This natural pocket of land covered eastern Chihuahua, western Coahuila, and northeastern Durango. It made an ideal camping area for these nomads. This wild plateau land had water springs and many sierras crossing it. These sustained and protected camp life and stolen livestock. The raiders brought their families and lived here from a few weeks to seven, or eight, months out of a year. From the Bolson they made raids over neighboring departments. These parties ranged from half a dozen to three, or four, hundred in size. They gathered in hundreds of women and children, much plunder, and thousands of head of horses and mules over the years. These items were the staples of their commerce. Their value ran into vast sums annually. Like cattle kings, the Comanche made up great droves for long drives up trail to northern markets. At Bent's Fort in Colorado, Coffee's post on Red River, and Torrey's trading house on the Brazos; in Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, and among the Indian tribes of the Central Plains, they found a ready demand for Mexican commodities. Also they disposed of goods at Santa Fe and Taos to both Mexicans and Americans. They followed a policy of generally, friendly relations with the New Mexicans dating from a treaty with Governor don Juan Bautista Anza in the 1780's.

The story of Comancheros from New Mexico who barterted with the Plains Indians fits into this traffic. On the supply end the Indians knew the location of the big ranches, silver camps, pack train routes, and farming settlements scattered over many hundreds of thousands of square miles. Some of these ranches ran horse, mule, goat, sheep, and cattle herds that allegedly reached into the hundreds of thousands of head. With the livestock supply in the south great, and the demand in the north unlimited, the Comanche served as willing middle men. The journals of Southwestern explorers, traders, and travelers show that the market for Mexican captives was strong also.

While the stories of Mexican slaves on the South Plains are fairly familiar to American readers, the pitiful tales telling how these wretched women and children were whisked from

their homes remain largely overlooked by historians in the archives and gazettes of Mexican states. They give the explanation for the Spanish words, names, and descendants found to some extent in Western Oklahoma today. The story in this article concerns itself with the traffic on the lower end of the longest commercial line in North America for only a brief two years, 1843-1844, but it shows a picture of what went on for generations.

This period opened with small bands of Comanche putting on a mid-winter carnival in northeastern Durango. They had come from their camps in the Sierra Mojada, a Bolson chain on the Chihuahua-Coahuila border. At day break on January 2, seven got off with a mule herd less than a league from Mapimi. The fact that Mapimi was a mining town and military post did not deter the Lords of the South Plains. One might ask why Comanche stole mules? They were too proud to ride such plebian animals, and certainly they had no intention of plowing them. The answer is simple. They knew their market, and realized that Americans would buy "Spanish mules" in droves to sell to farmers farther east.

In this same vicinity they frightened pack mule trains and stole mule herds during the second week of the new year. For them to elude Captain don Antonio Zepeda and his company when they came out in pursuit was little more than sport. Like other companies that went out to chase Plains Indians his came back "without any fruits." Fortunately for don Antonio, history remembers him less for his poor picking among the Comanches than for his defeat of Maximillian's French army near Parras nearly a generation later. Finally the Comanche nest in the Sierra Mojada attracted the commander and 160 men from Mapimi. But his campaign came to naught for a reason that frequently produced windfalls for the Comanche horse rustlers. This was the "tenacious" refusal of Mexican ranchers 'to frank" their horses for expeditions against them.[1]

Comanche activities raised such concern for travelers and commercial and industrial welfare that Governor-General don José Mariano Monterde of Chihuahua sent monthly troop

[1] *El Registro Oficial*, periodico del gobierno del departamento de Durango (Victoria de Durango, Durango), II núm. 107, febrero 19 de 1843.

Most of the footnote references in this paper are to gazettes of Mexican states: *El Registro Oficial*, Periodico del gobierno del departamento de Durango, means in Spanish that *El Registro Oficial* is the periodical of the government of the Department, or State, of Durango, or merely the weekly gazette, or newspaper. The same is true of *Revista Oficial* for Chihauhua, etc. These gazettes are found in various places. Some are in University of Texas, some in the Library of Congress, and some in libraries in Mexico, especially in Durango City.

escorts to protect trains from Chihuahua City going into Durango. One of these went to Cerro Gordo, or present Villa Hidalgo, in the lower Department. This was a military post that sent many expeditions from northern Durango against the Indians,[2] but could not protect travelers within its own shadow from them.

To meet the menace of the Plains Indians by another approach Monterde borrowed an old stratagem that English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Mexican, and American authorities had used in the scalp traffic for generations. This was the expediency of hiring tribes to deliver the hair of troublesome Indians. The Governor entered treaties with chiefs of the Gila River, Mogollon, and Mescalero Apaches to lift the scalping knife against Comanche and Kiowa when they met them.[3]

After this the Comanche peril mounted, but the Apache threat subsided for more than a year. Monterde's divide-and-conquer policy brought no flood of hair into the state scalp market. In fact it produced little of significance beyond illustrating Mexican versatility in trying to escape annihilation by Plains and Mountain, or Apache, Indians. This became even more obvious when another administration a few years later declared the Apache to be Chihuahua's worst enemy and made a deal with Chief Bajo el Sol to take Apache scalps. At this, he and his Comanches acquitted themselves well.[4]

In October Plains Indians got glimpses of a familiar antagonist in the Bolson. He was Captain don Juan N. Armendariz with 130 troops from Cerro Gordo. Led by Chihuahua's colorful Scalp Lord, don Santiago Kirker, this company could have bankrupt Durango, for her bounty law of July 27, 1840, would pay ten dollars for each Comanche pelt delivered. But the warriors lost neither hair nor hide to don Juan here. However, few Mexicans deserve the brand of scalp hunter more than him. At mid-century he was still after Comanche hair, and in 1849 received one of the first contracts under Chihuahua's new Fourth Law of May 25 to bring in their scalps at two hundred dollars each.[5] His 1843 campaign report, however, does allow its reader to see into the recesses of the

[2] *El Registro Oficial*, II, núm. 99 enero 22 de 1843.

[3] *Revista Oficial*, periodico del gobierno del departamento de chihuahua (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chihauhau), I, núm. 18, abril 18, y núm. 29, junio 4 de 1843; Francisco R. Almada *Diccionario de historia, geografia y biografia sonorenses*, 809-810, y "Gobernadores del estado: XIX.—General J. Mariano Monterde," *Boletin de la sociedad chihauhuenses de estudios historicos*. III, núm. 7, abril de 1941, p. 108.

[4] Julius Fröbel, *Aus Amerika*, II, (Leipzig; J. J. Weber, 1857-1858), p. 222.

[5] *El Faro*, periodico del gobierno del estado libre de Chihuahua (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chihuahua), III, núm. 29, junio 26, y núm. 55, septiembre 25 de 1849.

Comanche pale, its ruggedness, its cacti jungles, scattered springs, rendezvous camps, and slave dens, and to feel the cool climate of the Bolson as the Plains Indian did. This was the spot from whence the warriors launched their attacks, gathered to their plunder, captives, and stolen livestock, and disported themselves between raids.

The Comanches were elusive. They stayed out of sight and reach of Armendariz and his scouts. The invaders abandoned their huts, parapets, and rock entrenchments at the Laguna de las Palomas in southeastern Chihuahua before his men arrived. Defenses, tepee sites, and animal skulls and bones greeted the soldiers at seven, or eight, springs in the sierras where they had kept camp. Their broad trail leading from the spring of Sombreretillo in eastern Chihuahua reminded don Juan of a busy road connecting populated places. Hoofs of hundreds of animals headed for the northern markets had cut this commercial artery deep into the face of the Bolson. At the spring of Espiritu Santo Comanches had left evidences that they had brought their families south with them, and that these had attended to the stolen animals and had made arrows from canes for the warriors. Armendariz also observed that after a raid the nomads travelled forty to fifty leagues within twenty-four hours, while Mexican troops could barely cover that distance in twice as long.[6] If the soldiers did overtake a raiding party it spelled disaster for the Mexicans more often than for the Indians. An incident in the second week of December illustrates this.

One band crossed the Bolson into the District of Santa Rosalia along the Conchos River. A company from Ciudad Camargo pursued it to the Laguna de los Pastores. The Comanche turned upon it and killed thirty-one men.[7] When the Indians left their rendezvous in small parties, they ran greater risks. Such a group encountered fifty-two Coahuilan troops on the Arroyo del Jaralito in the eastern Bolson in December. Without putting up a stubborn fight they left seven killed and fled to rejoin the horde.[8]

Plains Indians might spend an entire winter in the Bolson, enjoying the climate, rounding. out herds for long drives, and giving grass time to grow out along the trail northward. In 1844 they gave those departments bordering the Bolson little rest. In the first week their raiders made San Juan Bautista, about forty miles south of Chihuahua, the center of their attention. They moved like the wind, dodged Armendariz

[6] *El Registro Oficial*, II, núm. 192, diciembre 14 le 1843.
[7] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 195, diciembre 34 de 1843, y núm. 198. enero 4 de 1844; *Revista Oficial*, I, diciembre 12 de 1843.
[8] *El Registro Oficial*. III, núm. 198, enero 4 de 1844.

when he took the field, and got back to the Bolson with their loot.[9]

Twenty Indians rode down the central trunk on January 20, looking for livestock and people like brokers with a market to meet. They killed a soldier and got three hundred mules within a quarter of a mile of Mapimi, while Captain Nabor de la O and fifty-two soldiers were chasing about north of the place looking for them. Their net caught up four hundred more mules before they beat it for the Bolson. They reached the Loma Prieta fourteen leagues north of Mapimi at dawn the next morning. Suddenly a small single shot cannon fired into them. De la O had sprung an ambush. They pressed their animals on with great fury and broke through with all of their men and stock except eighty-two mules. Since the Plains Lords always rode the best animals that the Mexican ranchers raised, they enjoyed a decided advantage on their raids. On this occasion de la O made a rather frayed plea for not pursuing them. His horses were in an "extremely bad condition."[10] The superior horsemanship of the Indians was another factor that favored them over the Mexicans.

A party of Comanche entered northwestern Durango in the third week of February by the western trail. This area around Santa Maria del Oro and Indé was one of their favorite hunting grounds. It had populated villages, ranches with livestock, and roads for pack trains loaded with ore and goods. The invaders found families abandoning settlements over a wide territory. They avoided militias from Indé and other points and carried on their raid successfully. Their experiences here with Captain José Maria Patiño show something of the opponants and arms that they confronted in Mexico. He had regular soldiers from the post at Santiago Papasquiaro armed with guns, horsemen with lances recruited in the villages, and Tepehaune, or domestic, Indians armed with bows, arrows and quivers. The ancestors of his Tepehaunes during a rebellion in 1618-1621 had been the first objects of Spanish head bounties. From this had come the scalp bounties of later years. Patiño used his Tepehaunes as scouts to scan the country for Comanche, but the outcome followed an old pattern. The Mexicans found neither Comanches, their tracks, nor signs of them. When the soldiers settled down at home again, the red men reappeared and were flying over the District of Santiago Papasuiaro in the last week of February.[11]

The Comanche carried good rifles. They had gotten them in trade with Americans, or with reservation Indians. Guns

[9] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 201, ereno 25 de 1844.
[10] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 206, febrero 1 de 1844.
[11] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 218, marzo de 1844.

supplied to resettled eastern tribes under treaty terms by the United States Government had passed into their hands. Creeks in particular had sold many to them for five dollars each. Seventy-eight Mexicans took up the chase in the last week of February behind the Justice of the Peace of San Gregorio. Most of them had only machetes, slings, and similar "weapons." Others had a few old guns and four fuses of powder each. As sometimes happened in battle the Mexicans did well against the better armed Comanche. In a fight at La Tinaja the nomads left three dead and fled with "blood flowing from their bodies."[12]

During these same hours bands of raiders struck on the central trunk line south of Mapimi. They made early morning sweeps of horses and mules around the Sierra del Rosario, left dead cowboys, and headed back for the Bolson. One party brushed with Captain de la O and lost eighty-four animals.[13] Again most of the stolen stock was mules, which seems to stress the importance of the American market for plow and wagon animals.

In the first week of March, the Comanche continued their work in northern Durango. They ran off six hundred head of horses at La Zarca ranch alone. Lieutenant Colonel J. Miguel Velasco from Cerro Gordo following them night and day but saw only their smoke. They marked the way with dead freighters and destroyed cargo. While he was out they headed for Cerro Gordo itself. Passing it, they barely missed swooping off the post cavalry. However, they got a hundred riding horses belonging to civilians.[14]

When the month ended, the Comanche were still rampaging over wide areas on both sides of the Chihuahua-Durango line paying farewell calls to round out their droves and pick up captives before taking their long trail northward. At Balesquillo in the District of Balleza along the San Juan tributary of the Conchos they killed Francisco Montoya and carried off his son. The raiders played April Fool tricks in several places. At one they killed four and carried off two young captives also in the Balleza district. While slaughtering still others, they managed all of the time to avoid soldier and citizen companies rushing here and there from Balleza, Parral, Jiménez, and Allende.[15] Twenty-five took in the big El Torreón del Cañas ranch in the vicinity of Cerro Gordo. In the village of Salgado on this sprawling ranch, the Indians killed two women and carried away five captives. The warriors disported

[12] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 221, merzo 24 de 1844.
[13] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 219, marzo 17 de 1844.
[14] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 221, marzo 24 de 1844.
[15] *Revista Oficial*, II, núm. 24, junio 11 de 1844.

themselves contemptuously at a pond, while the villagers of Tascate several hundred paces away trembled. Seeing Colonel Velasco and Captain Armendariz arriving with considerable troops, the marauders set an ambush and almost trapped them. When they perceived a Mexican attack in the making they fled to the hills. Some rode swift horses. A few went on foot. One footman dropped his arms, "presented" his hand to Armendariz, and surrended. The Captain kept on the heels of the rest. The red skins lost five warriors and had to abandon four of their five captives. In a few minutes the Mexicans had fleeced the dead. Back to Cerro Gordo their scalps went up to "public exposure on the portal of the soldier's quarters."[16]

This spring time activity on the perimeter of the Bolson soon died out. After mid-April the gazettes of Chihuahua and Durango made no mention of Comanches south of the Rio Grande until August. These dates mark roughly the beginning and the end of the six to eight month annual visits of Plains Indians in Mexico.

Three hundred Comanche would enter Mexico by the western and middle trunks "in the present Moon," according to information that Governor don Mariano Martinez de Lejarza of New Mexico dispatched to Chihuahua City in July. Before it reached its destination sixty Comanche had crossed the Rio Grande and appeared around Fort San Carlos at present Manuel Benavides.[17] By the fourth week of August they were riding down their Conchos trail into Durango. The big fall hunt for marketable goods was on. On August 26, the invaders cleaned up the horses and mules at the Sestin ranch on the upper Rio del Oro. They came away headed northward with a thousand head making for the Bolson gathering grounds. The horse rustlers had no trouble bursting through several ambushes that soldiers from Cerro Gordo set, nor in whipping men from La Noria in Chihuahua in a two hour fight. Raids from the Bolson were most common at the full moons. Colonel Velasco expected them to continue at such intervals until December; however, as it turned out, he should have said until April. He based his strategy for meeting them on the belief that they would split into small bands to work the country more thoroughly. The division of his forces into details[18] also worked except when his men met Comanches in ratios of less than about three to one in the Mexican's favor.

Two days after Governor don José Antonio Heredia of Durango ordered the biggest Mexican campaign yet to search

[16] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 225, abril 7 de 1844.

[17] *REvista Oficial*, II, núm. 34, agosto 20 de 1844; *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 268, septiembre 5 de 1844.

[18] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 268, septiembre 5 de 1844.

out the Bolson Governor Monterde of Chihuahua received another dispatch from Martinez on September 5. It was sufficient to have scared a dead Mexican. Some Comanche had told his emissaries that not three hundred but two thousand warriors had already prepared to tour Chihuahua in the last quarter of the year. On their word, they intended to shake down the country thoroughly. Their chiefs expected to take a position mid-way between Presidio del Norte and Ciudad Camargo. This would put them east of the capital city in the very heart of the Department. Its best towns would be strung along the Conchos Valley before them.[19]

On its way south the well armed Comanche horde divided. One party took the eastern trunk into Tamaulipas. The other three hundred rode down Alamito valley on the western. They crossed the Rio Grande in the first week of October. Mexican scouts believed that they detected Shawnees with them.[20] Troops in the posts along the River did not bother the invaders. They reached La Cruz del Refugio seventy-five miles southeast of Chihuahua City on October 15. The warriors kil'ed a woman and stole a horse herd. They also left some horses that they rode for the Mexicans to have in good shape when they called again. The Indians abducted Anatasio, age nine, and Hipoliti Santa Anna; Ramona Romero, sixteen; Eulalia Romero; Domingo Garcia, fourteen; Bonifacio Gonzales, fifteen; Crescencio Corral, ten; and Eulalia Nunoz, fifteen. Capt. Armendariz rescued all of these except Eulalia Romero in a fight at the Laguna de las Palomas on October 26. Two other children that they carried away either died before this date, or would spend the rest of their lives on the South Plains, or possibly with reservation Indians who might have bought them. The Comanche left La Cruz following roughly the present Pan American Highway. Colonel don Mauricio Ugarte took the trail behind them with 250 men. At Las Garzas on the Conchos they took off Tomas de la Cruz, fourteen; Evaristo sosa, eleven; and Jesus Baca, thirteen. Their names appeared among those of children that Armendariz rescued on the twenty-sixth.

West of Santa Rosalia de Ciudad Camargo the Comanche observed a large Mexican army moving to attack them early on the morning of October 16. Ugarte had just joined Armendariz and his three hundred men and Captain Campos with a company from Jiménez. Armendariz had been campaigning in the Bolson for over a month without finding the enemy. Seeing Ugarte and nearly 600 soldiers the Indians fled up a sierra north of Ojo Caliente. They divided and came

[19] *Revista Oficial*, II, núm. 39, septiembre 24 de 1844: *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 227, octubre 6 de 1844.

[20] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 284, octubre 31 de 1844.

down into two parties. The Mexicans tried to divert them from Durango, but failed. The nomads continued down the Rio Parral Valley picking up captives as they went. One was Alvino Corral, eleven, whom Armendariz rescued later at Laguna de las Palomas. Alarming reports preceded them. Companies of soldiers rushed here and there. On the basis of an erroneous figure which placed their number at two thousand, Governor Heredia ordered a mobilization of all forces in Durango.[21]

In his Department, Comanches sacked and burned houses and took off horses and mules on don Francisco Figueroa's Amador ranch on the upper Rio del Oro Valley on the twentieth. Many of his servants reached his ranch house safely, but the raiders slew the wife and two little sons of don Ignacio Oritz and abducted his two daughters, Maria Remigia, twenty-four, and Marcelina, three. The marauders snatched Perfecto, age twelve, Saturnina, twenty-one, and Petra, thirteen, from the home of Clement Hernandez. They got Tomas Reyes, eleven, Nestor Rivera, ten, Luis Olguin, eight, Patricia Pillado, ten, and Maria del Rosario Ceniceros, twelve, out of other families. Armendariz recovered these ten children six days later, but the names of four other captives are not recorded because they were not rescued. The Comanche might have killed them before they reached the Laguna de las Palomas, or they could have been among those that the Indians escaped with to the South Plains. In this case they ended their lives on the Llano Estacado, or in the Indian Territory. They might have descendants in Oklahoma today, who knows?

Moving on the nomads destroyed a pack train, killed four drivers, and seized seven hundred *pesos* in coins. At Sestin ranch also in del Oro Valley they murdered three, kidnapped a woman and two boys, and drove off the horses. The names of this trio are not known, nor does it seem likely that Armendariz rescued them on the twenty-sixth. Around the Castañeda ranch they got many more horses and littered the country around the Arroyo de Sardinas with dead cattle and burros. Comanche policy was to spear cattle, sheep goats, hogs, and other domestic animals too slow to keep up with their droves.

The horse rustlers began their days early and actively. On the twenty-first they started out with taking the mules of don Juan José Ruiz at Agua Caliente, then those of don José Maria Celis. No where did they meet any resistance until six tried to run off the mules of don Transuilino Sanchez Alvarez on San Pedro ranch. When soldiers and citizens charged them,

[21] *Revista Oficial*, II, núm. 39, septiembre 24, núm. 40, octubre 1, núm. 42, octubre 15 núm. 43, octubre 22, núm 44, octubre 29, y núm. 46, noviembre 12 de 1844; *El REgistro Oficial* III, núm. 274, septiembre 26, núm. 283, octubre 27, núm. 284, octubre 31, núm. 286, noviembre 7, y núm. 287, noviembre 10 de 1844.

they fled, and another band swooped a mule drove from a pasture. These small parties combined, and don Tomas Carrete said that they numbered over five hundred when they passed through Los Sauces de Cardona. Other Mexicans confirmed his story that they carried a captured benefice with them.

The warriors kept the prelate dressed in his frock, pantaloons, and gloves. They forced him to make mock confessions to a wounded captive. The warriors carried along a sort of Indian Joan of Arc to inspire them in battle also. She wore an elaborate garb and rode a big horse with much trapping. They sported an ensemble of musical instruments sufficient for a regiment according to Carrete. These included flutes and cornets. From some twenty instruments they sent forth a stream of discordant sounds. In the intervals of revelry, they lanced calves and shot the farm yard poultry with arrows. The marauders made a sweep of the children also before leaving. They abducted Miguel Herrera, twelve; Merced Quiñonez, six; Blas Eulalio Sendreda, thirteen; Maria de Jesus Nuñez, eleven; and probably others. Armendariz recovered these four at Laguna de las Palomas.

Dashing across country again they left smoking houses and panic in their wake. At villages on El Corral de Piedra ranch, they repeated the same old story, four dead, two boys kidnapped, cattle and sheep lanced, and horses and mules stolen. Juan Antonio Soto, fifteen, whom Armendariz recovered, was probably one of the captives. Joaquin Martos and over thirty men from Santa Maria del Oro chased around pretending to protect the people, but they really seemed more concerned with staying out of sight of the Comanche. The Indians went right on with their brokerage business of collecting livestock and slaves. Of course, they would not sell all of the captives that they were taking. Some of the girls would grow up to become wives of Comanche chiefs possibly. Little Mexican boys would develop into warriors. A few might become chiefs even and lead back raids upon their own people. At one place, the villians nabbed Loreto Vicana, thirteen, and Eugenio Flores, twelve. They snatched Macedonio Ribota, thirteen, from Santa Cruz del Oro. At de Orgános, they took Concepcion N. nine, and Jesus Alvarez, sixteen. But Armendariz saved all of them from uncertain futures in cooler climates at Laguna de las Palomas.

The Comanches surrounded Magistral in the edge of a sierra, but did nothing new, just the routine of killing the men, grabbing children, sacking houses, and driving off the livestock. When Martos slipped in after they had left he found old and young weeping for the dead and lost. Breaking up into small parties, the raiders visited villages large and small over a great area. What the Justice of the Peace of San Bernardo reported about them cleaning the country of ani-

mals, scattering the people, and leaving the population "afoot, helpless, and miserable," did not tell half the story.[22]

When the Comanche made night camp at the Pass of the Corrals on the twenty-first they had eighteen known captives and more than 2,000 head of animals. But the true figures were doubtless greater. In the District of Indé a dozen raiders paid for an attempt to take a hundred horses from the cowboys on San Salvador ranch on the next day. One Estevan Rubio broke through a guard of braves and speared their leader to death. All together they lost six warriors "according to the scalps and heads" delivered to the ranch administrator. The fired-up Mexicans also captured Tapiquisqui. He "spoke Spanish fluently and desired to join us and to become a Catholic." While this side show went on, the main body of Comanche actors garnered flocks and herds over neighboring plains.

Fifty of them met poor Martos at the head of the Sierra del Oso. This number of Comanche were considerably too many for over thirty Mexican soldiers. Martos and his men lifted heels for Los Sauces. Here they found the people weeping, flying to certain strong houses, and dragging livestock to shelter.[23]

The Comanche learned that Colonel Velasco and company from Cerro Gordo were of a little stronger metal, for they lost four of their captives to the soldiers.[24]

When and how the Indians came by Maria de la Cruz Silva is not clear. It was during this week probably. When Armendariz rescued her at Laguna de las Palomas, she gave her age as twenty and her home as Nazas on the river of the same name.[25]

She must have been one of at least thirty-two captives that the Comanche had when they burst across northern Durango for the Bolson with a "considerable horse drove" on the Wednesday night of October 23.[26]

Re-entering Chihuahua they raised a dust for Laguna de las Palomas with Captain Armendariz and 200 horsemen stripped to bare necessities trying to keep within sight of them. Numbering less than two hundred, the raiders reached the lagoon where they camped. About sun up on October 26, they were shocked to see that Armendariz's three companies had set a trap to effect their carnage. Besieged and catching lead from several directions, they found Captain Ze-

[22] *El Registro Oficial* III, núm. 285, noviembre 3, y núm. 286, noviembre 7 de 1844.

[23] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 284, Octubre de 1844.

[24] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 284, octubre de 1844.

[25] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 286, noviembre 7 de 1844.

[26] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 284, octubre 31 de 1844.

peda's company cutting off their retreat toward the pond. They saw Captain de la O's company and some immense sand dunes blocking escape on the opposite flank. Armendariz and his third company threatened them from another position. The Indians tried dispersing into two groups again; but the troops threw "more than seventy" of them into the water. All of these drowned or took their own lives, according to Armendariz. About fifty in the second party broke through the troops along the edge of the pond and escaped northward toward the Sierra Mojada.

The nomads lost thirty-two Mexican captives whose names have been mentioned already. They left twenty-five hundred horses and mules many buffalo robes blankets saddles, arrows, etc. on the field. Don Juan's report was silent about the scalps of the dead.[27] It is inconceivable that his men left them undisturbed. A more plausable conclusion is that they fleeced the Indians, and that he saw no need to mention such a routine matter. He sent those captives from Chihuahua to Hidalgo del Parral and Jiménez. The gazettes of Chihuahua and Durango carried lists of their names and of their parents and advised them where to get their children.[28] The *Revista Oficial* of Chihuahua could offer the people no further comfort than to say that the Indians had treated them worse in some previous years.[29]

Those Comanche who had followed the eastern trunk into Tamaulipas spread grief also. An alleged five hundred struck seventy-five miles below Laredo in the second week of October. The invaders destroyed eighty Mexican fighters near Guerrero. They burned Los Moros and La Palmita, killed people, and took captives.[30] During November any place from El Paso del Norte and the Rio Conchos to the Gulf could expect a Comanche attack. In the first week four hundred warriors were reported in the Sierra del Murciélago as General José Maria de Arlegui began assembling companies from over half of Durango and posting men to watch passes near the central trunk line. In the same week four hundred new Comanches entered Chihuahua. They surprised Presidio del Norte but the soldiers repelled them.[31] These probably were the same four hundred that Colonel Ugarte fell upon in a dawn attack at La Ramada ranch between Santa Rosalia de Ciudad Camargo and Jiménez on November 14. They dashed on into Durango leaving fifty-two dead on the field and along the

[27] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 45, noviembre 3, y núm. 286, noviembre 7 de 1844; *Revista Oficial*, núm. 45, noviembre 5 de 1844.

[28] *El Registro Oficial, III*, núm. 286, noviembre 7 de 1844; *Revista Oficial*, II, núm. 46, noviembre 12 de 1844.

[29] *Revista Oficial*, II, núm. 45, noviembre 5 de 1844.

[30] *El Registro Oficial*, III, núm. 284, octubre 31 de 1844.

[31] *El Registro Oficial*, IV, núm. 289, noviembre 17 de 1844.

way,[32] if one report is correct. The invaders had good American rifles and plenty of lead and powder. On the other hand Ugarte listed a shortage of the same items, fatigue of troops, and poor condition of artillery and horses, as reasons for not following them.

The people of La Ramada joined in the desecration of dead nomads. Since Indian scalps possessed both state and open market value on the Mexican frontier, it can hardly be supposed that they overlooked the good marketable shocks of hair. Ugarte and Governor Monterde identified two of the dead "Indians" as "Anglo-Americans." They charged Texas authorities with sending them to lead the invasion. One had white complexion, red hair, a Nordic face, and metal rings about his ankles. Ugarte believed that most of the Indians were "not Comanches, because of their countenances, dress, etc. This affirms more the idea that the Texans foment them to make war upon us."[33] The Comanche had come to Mexico for adventure and business. Losing part of their force did not deter them in their pursuits. Thirty surprised a pack train only eight leagues from Cerro Gordo on November 16. They got fifty pack mules and destroyed the cargo. A much larger party moved toward the Llanos de la Zarca, where the fabulous herds of La Zarca ranch roamed. It eluded soldiers, and went into the Sierra del Oro on November 17.[34]

On this same day the Comanche nation operated other large armies over wide areas of Mexico. Tehuacanas accompanied one party. Soldiers from Camargo and Mier in Tamaulipas attacked it. The Indians killed nine Mexicans, but suffered major capital losses. They had to give up fifty-five Mexican captives, and to leave twenty of their own dead and some stolen horses in enemy hands. A few of the dead warriors wore medals of silver, tin, and other materials. With the date 1837, some bore emblems of the bust of President Martin Van Buren and of the American Union.[35]

Another great party of Comanche appeared at the water holes of Los Masteñas in Chihuahua on the same November 17. Having arrived recently below the Rio Grande they took the western, or Conchos route[36] and entered Durango on the twentieth. With other Plains Indians already in this section, they presented a formidable threat to the country. An alleged number of 500 had camped on the Llano de la Boquilla when Armendariz marched upon them with 300 men. They tried to break through his line but found that he had dismounted

[32] *El Registro Oficial*, IV, núm. 291, noviembre 24 de 1844; Alcance al *Revista Oficial*, II, núms. 46 y 47, noviembre 19 de 1844.

[33] Alcance al *Revista Oficial*, núm. 46, noviembre de 1844; *Revista Oficial*, II, núm. 46, noviembre 26 de 1844.

[34] *El Registro Oficial* IV, núm. 291, noviembre 24 de 1844.

[35] *Revista Oficial*, II, núm. 47, noviembre 19 de 1844.

[36] *El Registro Oficial*, núm. 292, noviembre 28 de 1844.

his cavalrymen and formed it in a square. This formation held held them, until they finally fled. The Indians left a captive Mexican woman and lost nine dead to the Mexican's seven. The soldiers returned to Cerro Gordo where they received news of a rebellion in Jalisco to unseat Dictator Santa Anna.[37]

The Comanche probably knew nothing about Mexican politicians mixing their name with domestic issues. But on November 26, Governor Monterde made a special appeal to the citizens to repell the invaders "whose movements are directed by the Texans." He said that the very evil machinations of the Texans were aimed at aiding the revolutionary General Paredes y Arrillaya by employing the Indians. Only by supporting the "unconquerable General Santa Anna" could the country be saved from Comanche ferocity.[38]

For two weeks after the Comanche defeat at La Ramada, raiders rounded up horses in the District of Hidalgo, and on November 27, they appeared at the gates of Hidalgo del Parral. One report said that they were "directed by the Texans, who came with them." Smirking over the carnage by their warriors, they found the people trembling, praying, and fearing lest the Indians turned their streets into a "slaughter pen" even though Hidalgo was a military post. The raiders actually killed only a few, but drove off some animals. They massacred and pillaged as they moved on into Durango.[39]

The Assembly of this Department noted that Plains Indians had overrun Durango "in all of its extremities." They had put the country and the people in a "most grave and deplorable" condition.[40] These nomads prolonged their 1844 raid through the first quarter of the following year. Governor's reports during these months bulged with stories of people killed[41] and livestock, women, and children taken off, while talk of improving the frontier defenses against the northern peril went on.[42] Occasionally luck favored the Mexicans, and the Comanche paid painfully. At one such time, when a band entered Ramos ranch, Colonel don Juan N. Flores went after their hair with his peons. They returned with four heads, which he remitted to the authorities of his district[43]

The raids of the South Plains Indians finally ran out in the spring, but the warriors came back in the fall for an even more devastating invasion. These annual incursions into Mexico finally ceased a generation later only when the Army within the United States forced the Comanche and Kiowa onto reservations and compelled them to stay there.

[37] *El Registro Oficial*, IV. núm. 293, diciembre 1 de 1844.

[38] Found in files of *Revista Oficial.*

[39] *Revista Oficial* II, núm. 49 diciembre 3 de 1844.

[40] *El Registro Oficial*, IV, núm. 301, diciembre 29 de 1844.

[41] *El Registro Oficial*, IV, núm. 311, febrero 2, y núm. 318, febrero 27 de 1845.

[42] *El Registro Oficial*, IV núm. 319, marzo 2 de 1845.

A REVIEW OF THE DE SOTO EXPEDITION IN TERRITORIES OF OUR PRESENT SOUTHERN UNITED STATES

By Leslie McRill

A subject of lasting interest to all who are wont to follow events of the early explorers of our country is that of the expedition of Hernando de Soto in the years 1539-1542. So much has been written about this expedition that at this late date it might seem unnecessary to further pursue the subject, but so much also of controversy had arisen among authorities in the different states where the trek took place, that it was deemed of sufficient importance, in the light of its being the four hundredth anniversary of the event, to make an official survey with the use of all authorities, both early and late. Accordingly, the United States government appointed a commission, composed of outstanding scholars, to make a complete examination of all materials at hand, and put them in an official report. This report is of great value, as it sets forth all possible data available for such a study. As the Commission states, it may not be considered the last word, since later discoveries in the way of excavations of Indian towns, or of other manuscripts, are possible. But it is the last word so far as materials, sources, and studies up to the date of the report are concerned. The report was made and final presentation given in 1939.[1]

This Report is of special interest to Oklahoma historians because hitherto there has been some discussion about whether De Soto came into Oklahoma. Authorities were disagreed. Among the writers and cartographers of more than one hundred years ago whose works show that De Soto did enter Oklahoma have been Henry B. Schoolcraft (1851-57), Buckingham Smith, (1866-Brevoort's Map) and De l'Isle's Map (1718).[2] It

[1] *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition,* 76th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 71 (United States Government Printing Office: Washington, 1939), hereinafter cited as *Report.*

The De Soto Expedition Commission consisted of the following scholars with Dr. John R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution as Chairman: Hon. W. G. Brorein, Tampa, Fla.; Miss Caroline Dormon, Chestnut, La.; Col John R. Fordyce, Hot Springs (later Little Rock), Ark.; V. Birney Imes, Columbus, Miss.; Andrew O. Holmes, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. Walter B. Jones, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

[2] The three works given here are: Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States,* Parts I-VI (Philadelphia, 1851-57), pp. 58-68; Buckingham Smith, translator, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866); Guillaume De l'Isle, famous French Cartographer, Maps, 1718.

may be noted that the writer of *Discoverers of the New World* (1960) apparently based his data on these early sources instead of the findings of the De Soto Commission's *Report* (1939) since a map in the recent 1960 book shows the Expedition traversing Northeastern Oklahoma.[3]

However, we shall see in our digest here that the very careful studies presented in the Commission's *Report* show that De Soto's march did not include Oklahoma. Some who have based their conclusions on the earlier investigators of the subject have asserted in their writings that De Soto was in the immediate neighborhood of Fort Gibson. It is well to have the matter definitely settled by the *Report* (1939) which presents the results of painstaking work done by a scholarly and well informed committee.

Before taking up the story of the route as studied and plotted by the Commission, it is well to take a brief look at DeSoto's life and some of the events that made him a great explorer. He was a native of the Kingdom of Extremadura in Spain, a province which furnished more than one notable name in the list of early explorers in America. Among them were Vasco Nunez de Balboa, Cortez, and Pizarro. DeSoto was with the last named in Peru. The following remarks about the age are of interest: "Finally, it must be remembered that De Soto's expedition was launched in the very midst of the golden age of Spanish power, in the reign of the Emperor Charles V, the most powerful monarch to arise in Europe since Charlemagne, one who bade fair to become to Spain in the sixteenth century what Louis le Grand was to France in the eighteenth."[4]

The date of De Soto's birth is not definitely established, authorities insisting upon ranging it between the years 1496 and 1501. The place of birth is also a matter of dispute, the rival claimants of the honor being Badajoz, Villanueva de Barcarrota, and Jerez de los Caballeros. Villanueva de Barcarrota is maintained by Garcilaso de la Vega, one of the authoritative sources for the route and events of the expedition in America. A monument has been erected in the latter place commemorative of De Soto. De Soto served with Pizarro in Peru and probably it was during this service that he became enamored of the idea of having a kingdom of his own in the southern continent over which he might have exclusive power. One of his companions in Peru, Luis de Moscoso, was destined later to be De Soto's chief aid on the memorable march, and to take charge of the expedition upon the death of his chief.

[3] *Discoveries of the New World*, American Heritage Junior Library (American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1960).

[4] All quotations herein are from the *Report* of the Commission,, given from the references in footnote 2, *supra.*

De Soto's expedition was formed in Spain, but the base of his operations in the new world was Havana, Cuba. Cuba had been settled by Spaniards in 1519. De Soto went back to Spain after his campaigns with Pizarro, and there entreated the monarch to grant him land in the southern continent. This was denied. He was given, instead, the land of Florida. He recruited his men, his ships, secured provisions and necessities and made complete plans for the new venture. Several of his trustworthy men were those who had previously served with him in America, some from Seville, and several from Portugal. One of these, the Gentleman of Elvas, was a chief chronicler of the trip and its events.

The fleet sailed from San Lucar, Spain, April 6, 1538, "accompanied by the Mexican fleet," according to Garcilaso. The fleet consisted of seven large ships and three small ones. The company has been variously estimated by the chroniclers from 500 to 1000, some counting groups of companeros omitted by others. They arrived in June, 1538, at Santiago de Cuba, and sailed from Havana on May 18th. On the 25th, they sighted the land of Florida.

Before taking up the business of the landing and the route followed, it should be pointed out that the sources for this study are very definitely fixed. Three or four interested ones give the information, and these in varying outlines of facts. Each seems to be conscientious and imbued with the idea of giving authentic details of the events as they transpired. Our authorities tell us that "three of the four known narratives of the De Soto expedition—those of Ranjel, Elvas and Biedma, in approximately that order—possess a very high degree of reliability, while the fourth, the 'Florida' of Garcilaso de la Vega, is of great utility but requires constant checking by means of the other narratives."

It may be remarked here that Garcilaso de la Vega was foremost as a writer of literature, and as such, saw no harm in making his accounts readable and interesting. Hence a little exaggeration, here and there, in the way of "poetic license" would give his imagination full play, and at the same time do no harm to his readers. The other narrators were only interested in giving what was actually happening as an official record of the trip—this to be preserved for history their task. Thus each serves as a buffer to the other. "These, then, furnish the principal materials contemporary with the expedition. .... To them may be added the so-called 'De Soto Map,' which, whether or not it was based upon direct information, belongs to a time nearly contemporaneous."

Then there are certain archives of later dates that throw some light on items and information of a more local color. The

greatest determination had to be based by members of the Commission on topographical features and locations of Indian tribes and towns. But in these only can the larger aspects be relied upon, such as the Mississippi River, the Appalachians, etc. The weather for the years involved becomes an important part of the decisions, since whether the year in question was a particularly dry one, or on the other hand, a wet one—this information enters largely in placing swamps, swollen rivers, etc., which are mentioned in the various parts of the narrations. Every possible detail has been taken into consideration by the Commission up to a point where the reader may even feel that he is present and taking each step with the original discoverers. So much is this true, that one feels that he may be standing with one foot poised for the next step forward through the swamps or over the rugged terrain, but must not step to the right or to the left, nor even forward until it is determined by the investigators where he may next set his foot down! The subject is that carefully studied, debated, pro and con, that no wrong conclusion may enter into the direction taken. In a few instances alternate routes are mapped out between two given points with the remark that either could have been the route. The *Report* is exceedingly interesting to those who have preconceived notions of their own and wish to see them corroborated, even in the face of contrary evidences.

Following the maps showing the routes determined becomes very like a jig-saw puzzle, no rhyme or reason seemingly as to the route chosen by the leaders of the march. But this must be kept in mind that De Soto was exploring his new realm and every hint of a large village or of good food supplies was to be taken advantage of. Like Coronado, he could be deceived by the natives, or believe exaggerated stories of great wealth. He was a "man of iron" and intended that all the natives be subject to his decrees, and to this end, nearly always carried with him, after visiting a nation, the chief of the tribe in order to insure the safety of his men on their line of march.

So, landing in Florida, De Soto used information gained from the previous expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez which was taken eleven years before. This was of great value to De Soto in making some of his decisions. Tampa Bay had been accepted by most writers as the landing place, but it began to be questioned, especially by T. H. Lewis in an article in the *American Antiquarian*, 1900. This question having been raised, our Commission now turns to Ranjel and all other sources available, studies them, along with all present indications, and finally comes to the conclusion with the following facts: "The landing place of De Soto was in Tampa Bay as proved by—comparisons of descriptions with the geography of the country; three inlets

considered—Tampa Bay, Charlotte Harbor, and San Carlos Bay. Of the above, Tampa Bay is the one most nearly in a line north of Havana in agreement with Ranjel's statement."

The route through Florida, from the Bahia del Espiritu Santo, or Tampa Bay, took its source from the headquarters of the Expedition established on the aboriginal site on Terra Ceia Island. "The site of the Spanish Camp is clearly indicated and generally admitted to have been at or close to Tallahassee, where they passed the winter of 1539-1540."

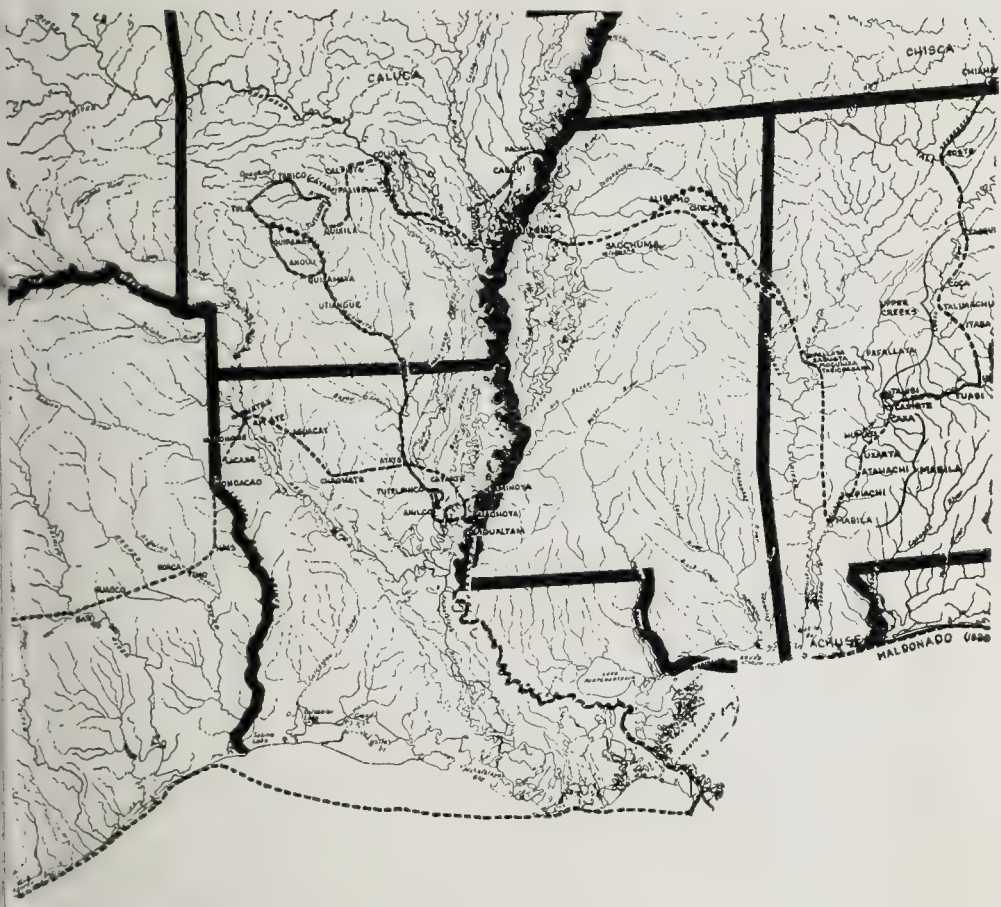
Scouting parties were sent out to the north and to the south. While these scouts were making their discoveries, the main army was being harassed by the Apalaches, who were constantly surprising and attacking the Spaniards. In the spring the march was again taken up and passed into what is now Georgia. Leaving the present site of Tallahassee the Spaniards marched northwest to the Flint River. Then on to where the towns of Capachequi were located. They arrived by ferry, or via canoes provided by the Lady of Cofitachequi.

The line of march then proceeded through the Eastern Highlands, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee and Northern Alabama. Summarizing this march our source states:

> De Soto would have passed over or near the sites of Edgefield, Greenwood, and Anderson, and between Pickens and Walhalla, all in South Carolina. In North Carolina he would have passed through Highlands, Franklin, and Murphy, and in Tennessee through or near Cleveland, and certainly over the site of Chattanooga. Coming to Alabama, we find he left the Tennessee at Guntersville, reached the Coosa near Attalla and Gadsden, and passed near Talladega on the way to Coosa town, north of Childersburg.

Still in 1540, De Soto entered Southern Alabama and Northeastern Mississippi. "From Coosa town the Spaniards went almost straight south and may have kept along Coosa River . . . . there can be little doubt that Ulibahali, the first place of importance, was on the north bank of the Tallapoosa, approximately where the same town—more correctly known as Hothliwahali—was situated before the removal of the Creeks to the west of the Mississippi." Then the expedition turned south into Alabama. In Mississippi, De Soto came within a few miles of Columbus and wintered south of Pontotoc or in the neighborhood of Tupelo.

Now we proceed with the expedition from the Chickasaw country to Utiangue, or through northern Mississippi and to Arkansas. This is the spring of 1541, when the greatest disaster befell the Spaniards. It is known as the Battle of Mabila. The Indians swooped down upon the Spanish camp, which was not wholly unprepared, but where the whole army was taken by surprise. Biedma, Ranjel, and Elvas, all agree as to this en-



(Reprint from U. S. DeSoto Expedition Report)

Map showing Route of the De Soto Expedition, 1541-1542, through Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana into Texas. (Perferred Route ----. Possible Alternative . . .)

counter and the seriousness of it. The Spaniards were so demoralized for a time that every effort had to be made to recuperate their lost fortunes. "In their new camp," says Ranjel, "they made haste to set up a forge, and they made bellows of bear skins, and they retempered their arms, and made new frames for their saddles." Adding to this report, Elvas says:

> If, perchance, any one still had any clothing left from the fire at Mavilla, it was now all burned up in that place; and many were naked, as they had no time to snatch their jerkins. There they endured great suffering from the cold, for which they got relief in large fires. The whole night was passed turning from one side to the other without sleeping, for if they were warmed on one side they froze on the other. They managed to make some mats out of dry grass, woven together, and placed one mat below and the other above. Many laughed at this contrivance, but afterwards necessity forced them to do likewise.

Another attack by the Indians was easily repulsed we are told by the narrators.

The course pursued by De Soto's army during the season of 1541 is as follows: Leaving the Chickasaw country in Mississippi, it immediately entered the territory of the Alabama Indians who seem to have lived at that time in the southeastern part of Lafayette Co., the northeastern part of Calhoun, or in the western part of Pontotoc. After capturing a stockade manned by these Indians they marched directly west of the neighborhood of the present Sunflower Landing probably paralleling the course of Yocona River and then swinging south as far as Charleston. After crossing the Mississippi, they came first to the towns of the province of Aquixo south of Modoc in the present Phillips County, Arkansas, crossed a branch of White River on a bridge, waded through the swamps beyond it, entered the province of Casqui on Crowley's Ridge, and found the Casqui towns lying perhaps on Big Creek of the L'Anguille. An expedition was sent out from this province into northeastern Arkansas, which seems to have penetrated the prairie country about Wheatley, between the St. Francis and the White.

Turning south from Pacaha, the Spaniards re-entered the head town of the Casqui and marched southwest to the White probably at St. Charles where the Casqui Indians forced them over. From this point they traveled south along the west side of White River and came to the town of Quiguate in the delta between the White and the Arkansas. The most probable site of this town is at the Menard group of mounds 7 miles east of Arkansas Post. It is probable that it was then on White River and that the Arkansas main channel was farther south than it is today.

On leaving Quiguate, they marched northwest, first through swamps and then over hills, crossing the Arkansas above Pine Bluff, recrossing it near Woodson and coming upon the Coliqua town on the north bank of the Arkansas at the Great Rock. From here they turned southwest past Benton, probably followed the Saline a short distance toward the south and then turned west to the Ouachita, coming in contact with it perhaps near Friendship or Donaldson. From that point they went up along the Ouachita to Tanico not far from Hot Springs and from there up the valley of the Big Mazaran to Caddo Gap, then occupied by a powerful Caddo tribe called Tula. On leaving the Tula Indians the Spaniards traveled toward the southeast and probably followed one of two routes back to the Arkansas. Either they kept near Caddo River until they reached the neighborhood of Arkadelphia where they crossed to the east bank of the Ouachita and followed it down to the little Missouri and Ouachita rivers. Their winter quarters were probably near either Camden or Calion, both of which were noted as trail centers.

Water Valley, Charleston, and Clarksdale, in Mississippi, are believed to be near the route followed by De Soto.

In Arkansas Helena is the first place of any size that may confidently be cited as having a location near it. Pine Bluff probably lay a bit to the south but Little Rock, or more exactly, Great Rock, seems to mark the site of Coligua. Benton and Malvern were near if not exactly upon the trail, Hot Springs close by, Arkadelphia possibly upon it, and Camden certainly so.

We have spent a little more time with the Arkansas route because of its proximity to Oklahoma. Some remarks about the winter quarters are interesting. We read:

From time to time when De Soto and his followers arrived at Utiangue [Arkansas] until the end of the expedition we are compelled

to rely on the narrative of the Portuguese chronicler with such material as may be gleaned from the texts of Biedma and Garcilaso. Utiangue is said to have been in a level country abounding in corn and other food supplies, and particular mention is made both by Elvas and Garcilaso of the trapping of two kinds of rabbits. .... The town was on a fine plain, says Garcilaso, with a stream on either side of it, and the inhabitants, although warlike, seemed to be of a finer character than those of Tula.

It might be well to say here that Ranjel's narrative affords an almost exact itinerary from the time the army landed until the narrative comes to an end at Utiangue, where the winter of 1541-42 was passed. Ranjel was De Soto's private secretary, and the *Report* states:

It is evident that, in making preparations for the winter, De Soto had his bitter experiences of the two winters preceding in mind, for he "ordered a wooden stockade to be built about the place where that camp was established at some distance from the houses, so that the Indians without might not harm it with fire. Having measured off the land by paces, he allotted to each one the amount that was proper for him to build, in proportion to the number of Indians he had. Thereupon the wood was brought in by them and within three days the stockade was built of very high timbers set close together in the ground and with many boards placed crosswise."

The army spent a very comfortable winter, we are told, since there was plenty of wood and food. Elvas says that "the Christians were there a month amid snow during which they never left the town." When they needed wood a trail was made by the horsemen through the snow so the footmen could bring in the needed supply. Biedma says that De Soto set out at the beginning of March: "On Monday, March 6th, of the year 1542, the governor set out from Autianque to go in search of Nilco, which the Indians said was near the great river, with the intention of reaching the sea." Again, it is stated in the *Report*:

De Soto's route in the spring of 1542 lay down the Ouachita River to the site of the present Jonesville. He is believed to have crossed the Ouachita from west to east near Columbia, and to have recrossed it near Pippin Landing though the wording of our texts would imply a continuous movement east. Guachoya, the town on the Mississippi where he established himself at leaving Anilco and where he died, is believed to have been near Ferriday though it was possibly higher up.

The route pursued by Moscoso after De Soto's death is thought to have been northwest by way of Sicily Island to Columbia where he crossed the Ouachita and then went to Drake's (Chaguate), northwest to Bistineau Lake (Aguacay) and west to a place on the Red River above Shreveport.

After wandering in what is now Texas, and finding nothing of importance, Moscoso's men retraced their route and finally came to Aminoya where they intrenched for the winter, built their boats, and from which they set out, in the spring, for Mexico. Little may be guessed about their travel along the Louisiana and Texas coasts, but it is believed that they reached and entered the mouth of Matagorda Bay.

It is of interest and very helpful to quote from the conclusions of the Commission as to purposes, bravery and skill, both of the invading Spaniards and the native Indian tribes. We read:

> If with all their failings, we may not withhold our respect for the rough-diamonds of De Soto's army on account of their hardiness and their hardihood, we must extend the same to their native opponents who matched their naked bodies and primitive instruments of warfare again and again in reckless daring with a force equipped with the best weapons that the most warlike European nation of its time had to offer, in the hands of a picked force of experienced veterans and led by a commander inferior to none of the other conquistadores in native ability and in familiarity with Indian methods of fighting. Our estimate of the Indians comes, of course, entirely through the pens of their enemies but these testify to a profound admiration for their red antagonists. The devotion to their captured chief exhibited by the Indians of Aguacaleyquen, the proud and unflinching valor of the Apalachee, the hopeless but bitter-end fight of the Mabila Indians, the skill displayed by that unknown Chickasaw chief who nearly destroyed the entire invading army and put an end to the whole expedition, and the impression created by those Caddo spearmen of Tula, who are called "the best fighters they encountered in all Florida" are so many witnesses to the presence of the sterner virtues which the Spaniards themselves so much esteemed.

And continuing, we read:

> Many of those Indians were of the same stock as those to whom the magnificent mound groups of the lower Mississippi valley owed their origin and mounds were still in use among them though the great mound-building period was somewhat passed its prime. They were also the ancestors of the Indians of the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaws, Chickasaw and Seminole confederations which played such an important part to the later history of our southern states, and showed themselves to be as faithful in their friendship and as determined and resourceful in their enmity as their ancestors had been in the time of De Soto.

We have merely sketched in this article the findings of the Commisson, whose fine report and arduous work celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the expedition. It may well be that this short expose of their findings will lead those interested to get the full and complete *Report* which contains many very interesting happenings encountered all along the routes made by the De Soto army. The Commission was composed of many well known authorities on early American events and their importance and significance to our American heritage.

Some of the most interesting features of the Commission's *Report* are a very good biographical sketch of De Soto; a splendid presentation of the four authorities on the expedition; previous attempts to locate the routes of De Soto and Moscoso; the Indians encountered by De Soto and Moscoso; background of the Expedition; the beginnings of the expedition and its personnel; domestic animals brought to North America by De Soto; the weather during the expedition; the vessels for the ocean

voyage; many maps showing the route in sections of the march, as well as overall maps of the complete route; appended materials giving distances, and a very well worked-out "Parallel Itinerary of the Expedition." In this latter we have the years and what each source had to say as to dates, places, occurences; bibliography; participants in the expedition arranged alphabetically, and a general index.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Annual Index to The Chronicles, 1960

The Index to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Volume XXXVIII, 1960, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the magazine. Orders for the Index should be sent to Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

Acee Blue Eagle's Birthplace

The summer number (1960) of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2) made special mention (page 206) of the Museum exhibit of original paintings and other items of art by the late Acee Blue Eagle, noted American Indian Artist, on display during the summer months in the Historical Building. The exhibit was in the nature of a memorial to Blue Eagle, one item of which was a handsome, pen-text scroll giving a brief review of the life of the artist, the first sentence of which states that he was "born near Anadarko of Creek-Pawnee ancestry, a descendant of that noted Creek Chief, William McIntosh."

Soon after the publication of the text of the memorial scroll in *The Chronicles* last summer, word began coming in to the Editorial Office that several who had known Acee Blue Eagle were disturbed over the statement that he was born at Anadarko, the truth of the matter being that his birthplace was Hitchita, an old village in the northwestern part of McIntosh County, Oklahoma, this county bearing the name of the noted McIntosh family, of which the artist was a member. In passing, it should be said here that the statement in the memorial scroll giving Anadarko as the artist's birthplace was based upon records on his life, a tape recording made by him one time and his own statement to any number of persons sometime before his death on June 18, 1959. He died in the Veterans' Hospital at Muskogee, and is buried on the estate grounds of Thomas Gilcrease adjacent to the Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art at Tulsa where much of his work is on exhibit. A biography from an interview with Blue Eagle in 1955, written by Orpha Russell, on file in the Gilcrease Institute states in part:

> Acee Blue Eagle.... was born in the old Oklahoma Territory, north of Anadarko, August 17, 1907.

(Photo taken February 16, 1961)

Acee Blue Eagle's Birthplace at Hitchita, Oklahoma

Blue Eagle lacks only 1/16 (Scotch) being a full blood Indian. He is 5/8 Creek, 1/8 Pawnee, 1/8 Choctaw, and 1/16 Cherokee.

Tracing Indian symbols in the sandy hills near Anadarko marked the first steps of Blue Eagle in his fantastic climb from the obscure role of an Indian youngster to international fame as an Indian artist.

His phenominal rise to fame, however is far from accidental....

The last statement above sheds light on why Acee chose Anadarko, widely known for its colorful American Indian history and entertainment, for his birthplace rather than the obscure village of Hitchita over in the old Creek Nation. In his build-up before the public, it seems that he avoided the drab and took on the colorful. Also, while he was Creek Indian and part Scot with some Irish, he became "a blood brother" and descendant of the other tribes mentioned above as well as part Wichita who live near Anardarko!

The first written communication on the matter of Acee Blue Eagle's birthplace was a letter handed the Editor, addressed to Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, from Mr. Marcel Lefebvre of Okmulgee, dated September 20, 1960, in which Mr. Lefebvre says:

Dear Mr. Fraker:

This is in compliance with your request when I phoned you Sunday from my son's home in Oklahoma City, and not intended as any reflection on the integrity of any member of *The Chronicles* staff. However, as student of Creek Indian history, and my devout faith in the OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S archives for research I feel compelled to call your attention to an error in the beautifully executed Memorial Scroll honoring the late Acee Blue Eagle.

We who were close to Acee know only too well that he adopted Anadarko as his birthplace for obvious reasons. And it is not my intention to destroy the colorful legend he so successfully built around himself. He did a wonderful job and he deserves the recognition given him.

However, history is supposed to be founded on facts, not legends. Acee Blue Eagle is going down in history as one of America's most beloved Indians. Why, then, should not his true birthplace, his parentage, and his school beginning be recorded properly for posterity?

The Editor of *The Chronicles* deeply appreciates Mr. Lefebvre's kindness in contributing his manuscript and other materials about Acee Blue Eagle that reveal much on the life of this noted American Indian who won recognition for his talents in today's world:[1]

ACEE BLUE EAGLE

By Marcel Lefebvre

When Acee Blue Eagle died last summer (1959), he had reached the pinnacle of fame in his world of art and entertainment. To the world at large, he ranked among the top Indian artists of America.

[1] This manuscript by Mr. Marcel Lefebvre was editorially adapted and published in *Indian Life*, the magazine of the Inter-tribal Indian Ceremonial, Gallup, New Mexico, Edward S. Merry, Editor, August, 1960 (Vol. 39 No. 1).

To those who knew him intimately from childhood, Acee remained an enigmatic individual constantly searching for new horizons.

Like so many American teenagers, Acee Blue Eagle was unable to settle down any one subject. His boyhood friends remember him as a quite boy who had little to say to anyone, and shunned sports activities like a cat sidesteps water.

To his relatives he appeared to be wasting most of his time sketching animals in sand with a sharp stick.—The boy was mixed up, they thought, and unsure of himself. But one thing became quite obvious to everybody around him; he was strictly an individualist. And as his uncle Newman McIntosh said,"Acee always appeared to be drifting, never able to settle down and we thought he was wasting his time.---But I guess he knew what he wanted all the time. He could have done much worse with his life".

That Acee achieved fame is a matter of record. What is not generally known, is that internal revolutionary turmoils constantly tormented the young Indian while he was seaching for some degree of success and recognition.

That fabulous career began the moment twin baby boys were born to Solomon McIntosh and his wife Mattie Odom McIntosh in the village of Hitchita, Okmulgee County, Oklahoma in 1909.

One of the twins died four days after birth. The other one, a bouncing boy of sound body and lung, was named after his grandfather Alex C. McIntosh, of the distinguished Scot-Creek family.

Depending on which side of the divided Creek tribe one might be, the name McIntosh either meant HERO or TRAITOR.

Chief Wm. McIntosh was executed by members of his tribe in Alabama because they believed he had sold them out to the white man's goverment.

On the otherhand, his half brother Rolly was acclaimed a hero and elected chief by his people for having delivered them safely over the trail of tears to Indian Territory, far--far away beyond the reach of President Andrew Jackson's murderous guns and tyranny.

Rolly McIntosh was Acee's great great-grandfather. And higher up on the paternal family tree we find the first Scotchman who gave his name to members of the Creeks tribe. He was a Tory, Capt. Wm. McIntosh of the Revolutionary war era who drifted down south in Georgia and Alabama to settle down. He met and married a beautiful Creek Indian girl and raised a family. The William branded as a traitor , and Rolly acclaimed as a hero were sons of this union. Thus begins the mixed Scot-Creek blood that flowed in Acee's veins.

Farther up the McIntosh family tree we find that Tory Capt. William's father was Lt. Benjamin, and his father was none other than Brigadier Wm. McIntosh of the British Army, who became famous in the Jacobite Uprising in Scotland, 1715.

With such an array of Scotch military blood blending with that of close-to-nature and freedom-loving Indian blood, Acee just couldn't help being the dreamer of fine things, and command attention whereever he went. To these inherent qualities George Eliot had this to say,"Breed is stronger than pasture."

The characteristics of both races clashed more and more as young A. C. McIntosh grew from boyhood to manhood.

When he entered Chilocco Indian School in 1925, young Alex was seeking desperately to find himself. His classmates recall that he tried everything in the book: power-house, shoe-shop, poultry, bakery, carpentry, and many others until he landed in the paint shop.

Here he discovered a natural talent for blending colors, and just as suddenly remembered the birds and animals he used to sketch in the sand as a little boy. And like a lilly bursting into full bloom, the artist in him came out in flashing colors.

He soon became very proficient in his new-found interest, and loved it. Chilocco's official seal was designed by Acee during this period, and is affixed to all the school's documents and letters to this day.

Art alone, however, was not enough to entirely satisfy this insatiable youth. He wanted to be out in the open where people could see him perform, so he decided to join the band as a trombonist. But he soon gave that up, too. But the music master saw where the tall handsome young man would shine, and like it. He gave A. C. a baton and was rewarded by having produced the school's most colorful drum major leading the band on parade.

During this period of serious endeavor, Alex must have admired Spanish paintings somewhere. Or perhaps, a dark-eyed Senorita caught his fancy, nobody knows. Anyhow, the young Creek Indian decided to become a Spaniard. And the signature Alex C. McIntosh suddenly vanished from his work.

The ghosts of his adventurous Scottish ancestors must have yelled in agony when they read the new signature: ANTONIO CORTEZ McIntosh, of Spanish blood.

Antonio Cortez was short lived, too. The centuries-old Indian tradition of soft deerskin moccasins and bright colored feathers returned in full force to push the Scot and Spaniard out of the picture forever. They were replaced by a befeathered Indian chief who suddenly appeared on the scene bearing a real Indian name: ACEE BLUE EAGLE.

A colorful name that fitted the individual like a kid-glove. And by this time (in the early 1930's) the youthful twentieth century McIntosh had discovered a second talent, the ability to entertain by telling stories. This new discovery was destined to carry him to the height of fame.

Acee's soft and easy manner in a mixed crowd made his presence desired in all circles of society. Even among European Royalty, Acee was at ease and made many friends. Wherever he went he left impressive memories. Especially among children.

He once appeared in full feather costume before a vast audience in Macon, Georgia, where few Indians had set foot since the trail of tears.

He held the hundreds of boys and girls of that audience enchanted with his animated Indian tales and graphic anecdotes. He was delighted with the reception and said so, in English and Creek. He told the vast crowd that everything was fine, "In Creek," he said, "we say HITHLI-MAH-HEY!" He asked the children to say this with him and the auditorium exploded with loud HITHLI-MAH-HEYS, one after the other. Weeks following that performance, shrill voices could still be heard all over Macon yelling "HITHLI-MAH-HEY!"

That's how contagious Acee's personality became once he found solid ground to work on. The ground he had so desperately sought through the years.

American Naturalist Henry Thoreau would have admired Acee, for he must have had such a character in mind when he wrote "If you have built castles in the air, your work need not be lost; there is where they should be. Now put foundations under them."

Acee found the footing, then built the foundations upon which his dreams materialized.

For one who had such a slow and indecisive beginning in life, Acee Blue Eagle (nee Alex C. McIntosh) achieved a measure of success enjoyed by few men.

Once he discovered that he could talk as well as paint, he became an invaluable asset to his race. One that will be cherished by American Indians for all time.

Through him the Indian became better known throughout the world. As an emissary of understanding between the red and white races, Acee Blue Eagle had no peer.

It is altogether fitting that this study on the subject of Acee Blue Eagle's birthplace close with Mr. Lefebvre's interesting letter to *The Chronicles*:

February 3, 1961

Muriel H. Wright, Editor,
The CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA,
Oklahoma Historical Society,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dear Miss Wright:

My trip to Hitchita yesterday was even more fruitful than previous visits. The fictionized publicity given Acee Blue Eagle has left the townspeople exasperated and wondering why such distortion of the truth is accepted for the record.

One need but enter Cook's general store and ask. "Does anybody here remember Acee Blue Eagle, when and where he was born?" Ready information comes from all directions. And, especially from the old timers. They remember when twin boys were born in the McIntosh household. How midwife Gertie Minick attended Mattie Odom McIntosh pending the arrival of a medical doctor from a distant town. And that one of the twins died a few days after birth.

No less than Mr. O. L. Lackey, member of the State Board of Regents, remembers the incident vividly. He was a young boy at the time, perhaps 9 to 10 years of age, and a wonderful source of information. He volunteered to accompany me to the old McIntosh 3 room for pictures. The house is now occupied by a Mrs. Lippert, and is in fairly good repair.

Mr. Lackey mentioned the old spring and swimming hole Acee used to tell me about, and had frequently expressed his desire to take me over there to show me where he grew up. (Sorry I didn't go).

Mattie's nephew, Martin Odom, is State Representative from McIntosh County.

I hope this will give you the added information you need for the forthcoming summer issue. I will have the pictures in the mail for you just as soon as the negatives are processed.

With my kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,
Marcel Lefebvre

Quarterly Staff Report
Oklahoma Historical Society

January 18, 1961

Administration: The Administrative Secretary's activities during the past quarter have been largely confined to the usual duties of administration and supervision. We had the pleasure of again attending the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. This was made convenient this year because the sessions were held in Tulsa November 10 through 12th. Our attendance was cut short, however, due to the fact we had been scheduled to appear on educational TV Channel 13 in Oklahoma City on the 11th.

Talks have been made to the Norman Lions Club and the Robert E. Lee Chapter of the Oklahoma Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Administrative Secretary, represented the Oklahoma Historical Society at the inaugural of Dr. Garland Godfrey as President of Central State College on October 23. We took part in the ground breaking ceremonies, on December 12, of the two new office buildings for the State of Oklahoma. We attended a meeting of the Executive Committee and one of the Legislative Committee. As secretary of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, we have attended the monthly meetings of that group.

The annual staff Christmas party was held on the afternoon of December 22. Colonel George Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, was a guest at the occasion. The highlight of the party was when President Shirk presented a Certificate of Commendation to Mrs. Edith Mitchell, who had recently retired from the staff after thirty years of service in the Society's library.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma: Following report is set forth as an example of the detailed work required in editing articles for *The Chronicles.* Not only must the editor use a great deal of persistence and tact in order to get worthwhile contributions to *The Chronicles,* but must also give careful editing to most articles so as to fit them into the standards of publication.

Here is the example: An article recently contributed on "Charles Radziminski" was written by a member of this family, who is a Lieutenant Colonel in the Medical Corps and Chief of the Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Marion, Indiana. The article in final manuscript for publication covered two years in its production. To begin with, the author, Colonel Stephen F. Radzyminski wrote a letter to the Editor asking if there were any historical notes on a Lieutenant Charles Radziminski who served

in the United States Army in Oklahoma before the Civil War. The Editor replied in a letter telling of the naming of Camp Radziminski in Kiowa County, Oklahoma. In this letter the Editor asked if the Doctor could supply any information on the life of the Lieutenant, or better still would he contribute a biography for possible publication in *The Chronicles.*

At first the Doctor demurred at writing an article, but did become so interested in the life of Lieutenant Radziminski that he made a special visit to the camp site named after the Lieutenant and read histories and original records concerning his distant kinsman. After having done this much study and research, the Doctor decided to comply with the Editor's request and prepare an article along lines and style suggested by the Editor. This is only one example of work in editing *The Chronicles* that occurs in various forms and details.

The Editor, Miss Muriel H. Wright, has made field trips in the Poteau vicinity, on research on Civil War battle sites. She also spent eight days in December at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Here she made special studies in the building program under the treaty of 1830 with the Choctaws, examined many records concerning the Civil War in Oklahoma and innumerable other records bearing on Oklahoma history.

Miss Wright took her annual vacation on a tour to southwest Texas and the Gulf Coast. While on this vacation she visited many historical places and monuments in the Texas coast region.

Programs on which Miss Wright has appeared during the quarter include talks to Payne County Historical Society and the Oklahoma history class of Dr. Chapman at Oklahoma State. She also spoke to the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Stillwater. While there she was on a radio program sponsored by the University. Using the topic "These One Hundred Years" she appeared before the Hypatia Club at Cushing. She also was a participant in the Southern Plains Archaeological Conference held at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, and was present at the Southern Historical Association meeting at Tulsa, in November.

Miss Wright reports that the winter issue of *The Chronicles* has fewer pages than recent issues, due to the necessity of keeping the publication within budgetary limitations. This reduction in size will in no way detract from the high standards of content and appearance that have come to mark *The Chronicles.*

Library: The bulk of work done in the library during the past quarter, says Mrs. Dorothy Williams, has been in cataloguing, filing, indexing and cross-indexing material in the vertical

files. The Library staff has catalogued 75 books, added 549 cards to the card catalogue, and placed 441 cards in the Oklahoma biographical file. In addition to this, hundreds of unclassified clippings in the Fred Barde collection have been mended and filed and 105 additional folders of material have been added to this collection.

There have been 306 researchers and genealogists working in the library during the past three months and materials have been furnished for all these patrons. The Library staff has answered a steady stream of requests for books on the Civil War—hardly a day goes by without having at least one researcher working on this subject.

Several requests for back issues of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* have been made which the Library has been unable to fill. The Library is now completely out of even the bound volumes of Volume I, IV, V, VI, and VIII.

On November 10th and 11th the Librarian attended the Southern Historical Association meeting held in Tulsa.

The main efforts of the Library staff during the next three months will be directed toward cataloguing, indexing, and filing the manuscript collections in the Library. There is a tremendous reserve of excellent material here but it is impossible to use it unless it is correctly classified and cross-indexed. Several boxes of maps, pamphlets, and miscellaneous documents have been brought up from the "canyon" and these will also have to be catalogued.

Newspaper Library: Work in the newspaper department has been highly systematized. Each morning Mrs. Louise Cook assorts, checks, and stacks numerically the daily and weekly newspapers. Mr. Nealy Tilly assists her in this work. There are fifty-four daily papers and over two hundred weeklies. Cards and letters are sent to publishers when missing issues occur. Mrs. Cook sends three request cards to the weeklies and three request letters to the dailies, before marking the permanent file with a missing paper.

Dailies are scheduled to be microfilmed every two months, three months, four months, and six months. This makes a microfilm schedule wherein six dailies are microfilmed every two months, five dailies every three months, seven dailies every four months, and sixteen dailies every six months. The weekly schedule is set on a yearly basis. The large weeklies, which include four papers, are microfilmed each year. There are twelve weeklies that are microfilmed on a schedule of one and one-half years, fourteen weeklies microfilmed on a schedule of two years, forty-six for three years, and approximately sixteen weeklies on a four year schedule.

This schedule means that due to the various sizes of the papers, weeklies and dailies, it takes between 1,000 and 1,200 single pages to fill one microfilm roll. All abandoned papers, that is, those that have ceased publication, are also microfilmed. Current papers in a county are microfilmed through 1917 or 1918. This requires a typed list of all papers listed by towns of publication in each county. Name of papers, dates of publication, title changes and merging of all papers are recorded by Mrs. Cook. When this work is finished a complete chronology of every paper in the county, which includes ghost towns as well as established cities and smaller towns which printed a newspaper, is furnished. When this information on the county newspapers has been typed, microfilming is ready to begin for a particular county. With the help of the janitors all books in the county are arranged alphabetically for the processor.

Accurate records of microfilming are kept by master roll numbers and county numbers. The microfilming work started with master roll No. 1 and at this time is master roll No. 2,063. After the microfilm roll has been processed, Mrs. Cook pastes the correct label on each box which is then filed in the permanent microfilm file case. Prior to receiving the finished microfilm roll she has copied, from the microfilm operator's work sheet, each completed roll of microfilm. This is placed in the record book, giving name of paper, date of beginning, and ending of roll, missing, and available papers and name of county. The labels are then typed for the microfilm boxes and index cards are prepared and filed.

No researchers or readers are permitted to take microfilm boxes out of the file. Mrs. Cook supervises the threading of microfilm into the readers and filing the microfilm boxes. Mr. Tilly, who helps with filing of papers each morning, stays in the newspaper department such times as Mrs. Cook may be off duty.

The registration book in the newspaper department shows one hundred researchers used the facilities during the past three months. Researchers came from Arkansas, California, Washington, D.C., as well as from Oklahoma. Students from the School of Journalism at the University of Oklahoma come to the newspaper department for much of the information they use in writing papers for their class work.

Archives: Mrs. Rella Looney, who has been giving almost one hundred per cent of her time to preparing the Cumulative Index for *The Chronicles,* for volumes I-XXXV (1921-1957), reports that she has completed 1,600 pages of typed index. She is at present reading copy and should be finished with this work within the next two weeks. After the copy reading has

been done, the material will be ready for the printers. By late spring, the long awaited Cumulative Index for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* should be published.

Mrs. Looney says that she has been fortunate in that researchers in the Archives have been few during the past quarter. Otherwise, she says she would not be so nearly through with her work on compiling this Index.

Field Service and Museums: During the past quarter, the reorganization program in the museum was carried forward with the installation of one new exhibit. This exhibit is the first in the early historic period and deals with the visit of the Coronado expedition to Oklahoma. While this display is not complete in its present form, it will remain as is until the museum is able to acquire such items that will give it a more satisfactory balance and interpretation.

A temporary exhibit of current interest dealing with the Oklahoma Legislature was installed in the large south case on the third floor. This exhibit supplants the temporary exhibit of Acee Blue Eagle paintings, which was dismantled and returned to storage.

While on annual leave, the chief curator, Mr. Bill Dale, attended the three-day meeting of the Oklahoma-Kansas Numismatic convention and placed five exhibits of Oklahoma "numismata" on display. These exhibits dealt with scrip and currency of the Five Civilized Tribes, Indian trading post and early day merchants tokens, Oklahoma bank scrip and clearing house certificates circulated during the panic of 1907, State semi-centennial medals, and the Tulsa centennial of the petroleum industry medals. This exhibit won first prize in the historical classification and the sweepstakes award for the best exhibit in the show.

Repair work on the Society's properties at Fort Gibson was begun and to date all properties have been surveyed as to boundaries, and, on each corner, boundary indicators have been installed. Preliminary estimates and bids have been received on the cost of a fence to enclose the lot on which the old bake oven and powder magazine are situated. It is expected that completion of all work will be carried out in the early spring as weather permits. Mr. Dale points out that it should be noted that the grave stone of Chief Justice Martin is in need of repair which should be undertaken when work is resumed on the other sites.

Contracted work on the old Chief's house near Swink has been completed and is apparently satisfactory. The cost of this work came to one hundred and forty some dollars less than

the contracted price. This was due to the generosity of Dierks Lumber Company, who donated more of the material than had been anticipated.

The granite monolith marker to be placed at Fort Cobb has been completed and the necessary easement for a permanent site has been acquired and duly recorded. Final installation of this marker is expected within a short while.

The location for an on-site marker relative to Old Keokuk Falls has been selected and the manufacture of the marker completed. Installation will be carried out in the immediate future.

In company with other staff members of the Historical Society, the chief curator was privileged to attend one day of the sessions of the Southern Historical Association held this year at Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Museum: Now that the Civil War Centennial Commemoration is in progress, many writers and researchers are involved in work relative to that period of United States history. Josephine Cobb, a specialist in Civil War iconography, recently contacted Mrs. Jeanne Cook regarding pictures of the Civil War period. In her letter she said she did not expect to receive many tin types and daguerreotypes from Oklahoma. Much to her surprise, Mrs. Cook was able to send her a two page list of materials of that type on file in the photograph section of the Oklahoma Historical Society museums.

Mrs. Cook reports that Dr. William Sturtevant of the Smithsonian Institute spent two days of research in the museum, making a study of the Creek Nation material in the Alice Robertson collection. He took several pictures of this collection.

Along with several other staff members Mrs. Cook attended the Southern Historical Association meeting in Tulsa.

During the last week of her vacation she went to the general convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, which was held in Richmond, Virginia. She was present at the dedication of the Jefferson Davis Prayer Chapel. It was built at a cost of $40,000.00 by the UDC. Mrs. Cook was honored to be one of the three UDC members seated in the Chapel during the dedication.

While in attendance at the convention Mrs. Cook met General U. S. Grant, III, who was guest speaker at the opening program. He is Chairman of the National Civil War Centennial Commission. Mrs. Cook spent a day in Washington and visited the Smithsonian Institution. There she examined

a buffalo hide tepee that had been put on display. She says it does not compare in quality with the Cheyenne tepee in the Oklahoma Historical Society museum. While visiting the Wax Museum she was informed that it is planned to place a figure of General Stand Watie, noted Cherokee in the Civil War, in one of the displays.

Confederate Room: Mrs. Helen Gorman of the Confederate museum reports that she has received a booklet, "The Last Battle in the War Between the States," that was fought near Brownsville, Texas, on May 13, 1865. This addition to the collection of books in the Confederate Room was given by Miss Muriel Wright. Another pamphlet, "National Battlefield Park," published in Richmond, Virginia, which is a Confederate calendar that was in current copies of *Life* and *Saturday Evening Post*, has been placed on display by Mrs. Gorman.

In addition to visitors from throughout the United States several have come from foreign countries. These were from Iran, Australia, India, Pakistan, and Turkey.

Mrs. Gorman attended the eighteeenth General Convention of the UDC which was recently held in Richmond. She visited the Jefferson Davis Prayer Chapel and was on a tour of battlefields in that region. She was elected secretary of the Past General Officers Club, an organization from oldest members who have served the organization as general officers.

At present the Confederate Museum in the Historical Society is featuring current issues of *Life, Saturday Evening Post, Civil War Times, Atlanta Century,* and *Look* which are publishing articles of the Civil War Centennial period. Mrs. Gorman was recently appointed as chairman of a committee of general organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy which gives her a personal vote and a place on the general program. When the religious service of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission was held in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society on Sunday, January 8, Mrs. Gorman was on hand to conduct visitors through the Confederate Room. She had several special displays on exhibit.

Union Room: It is reported by Miss Katherine Ringland that a song book compiled under the direction of Dr. B. B. Chapman of Oklahoma State University, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has been added to publications being distributed from the Union Room. The song book was sponsored by the Oklahoma Division Daughters of Confederacy and Department of Oklahoma Women's Relief Corps Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic. The objective of the song book is to "promote a

true understanding of American history 1861-65." The title of this book is "Chosen Songs of the Civil War."

Accessions to the Union Room have been a rare photograph of the casket of President Lincoln when he lay in state in the state capitol in Springfield, Illinois, May 2-4, 1865. There have also been given to the Union Room a number of beautiful badges that were made for national GAR conventions. These were done in bronze and are from a collection by Captain R. H. McWhorter, Department Commander of the Kansas GAR, 1927-28. These were given by the daughter of Captain McWhorter, Mrs. Nellie Stump, State President of the Women's Relief Corps, Oklahoma City. There is at present on display an interesting letter written by G. B. Morris to his family October 9, 1861, in Macon City, Missouri, telling of a battle in Lexington Missouri.

Miss Ringland was present in the Union Room on Sunday, January 8, to assist visitors who had been participating in the religious service that was conducted in the Oklahoma Historical Society auditorium on that date by the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission.

Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary

BOOK REVIEW

Pioneer's Progress. An autobiography by Alvin Johnson. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1960. Pp. xviii, 413. Index. $1.85.)

This is a Bison Book, one of a series of paperbacks inaugurated by the University of Nebraska Press in 1960. Some titles of the series are originals, but *Pioneer's Progress* is a reprint of a volume first issued by the Viking Press in 1952. Incidentally, reprints planned for the spring of 1961 include such classics as *Populist Revolt* by Hicks, *Crazy Horse* by Sandoz, and *Voice of the Coyote* by Dobie.

Perhaps a confession is in order at this point. It was the original intention to give this book a lick and a promise, not a thorough reading, and then to attempt a perfunctory statement larded with a quote or two. But Alvin Johnson writes with an insidious style, "Middlewestern crossed with the classics" as he himself described it, which will not brook such cavalier treatment from the reader. So *Pioneer's Progress* was read completely and with gusto and some passages were read several times and will be read again.

Pioneer's Progress is the Odyssey of a native American scholar born in eastern Nebraska of an immigrant Danish father. It is the authentic autobiography of an American egghead, a "liberal" in the finest sense of that much abused word. Johnson always considered himself a Democrat. The influence of his early Populist environment was an important factor in attaching him to the liberal wing of the Democratic party during most of his adult life, except for his support of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 and Herbert Hoover in 1928.

A leisurely account of an active life, *Pioneer's Progress* has manifold digressions from the main chronological path to lure the reader into inviting byways of informative fact and conjecture, as Johnson figuratively climbs convenient hills and trees along the way to take a look forward, or back, or around generally. These digressions furnish illuminating side lights, touched with gentle humor, and give the reader a better understanding of the problems of our time as distilled in the mind of Alvin Johnson.

Johnson found his place in life after several changes of direction. He loved the land and early dreamed of becoming a farmer; other influences, that of his mother very strongly, turned him toward a life of scholarship. He entered the Uni-

versity of Nebraska with the intention of studying medicine, but soon changed to a major in the classics. His experience with epidemic disease in a camp of volunteers at Chickamauga during the Spanish-American War led him to enrol at Columbia, determined to prepare himself in economics so that he could take his place "in the struggle for justice, for the restoration of the democratic ideal, badly battered by a generation of monopolistic greed and political chicanery."

Several years of restless wandering as a professor of economics at Bryn Mawr, Columbia, Texas, Chicago, Stanford, and Cornell, and as an editor of the *New Republic* failed to satisfy the gnawing drive inside him. Not until 1923, when he became director of the New School for Social Research, "an adult education institution which combines lay with academic education," could Johnson begin to feel at peace with himself. The "New School," founded by James Harvey Robinson, Charles A. Beard, and Thorstein Veblen, was inevitably labeled by some as socialistic; to Johnson from the beginning it was "what the Marxians call 'bourgeois.' "

Here he was happy as he planned and extended the curriculum ("Anything that lives can get into the curriculum"), wrestled with financial problems, aided fugitive European scholars with his "University in Exile," planned his new building, dubbed "Aladdin's Lecture Palace" by those unhappy with its modern functional architecture, and generally fulfilled his dream of an institution of higher learning where a "teacher with a mission" could teach, untrammelled by the restrictions to be found elsewhere.

Max Lerner writes in the foreword: "And if the function of an autobiography, like that of a teacher, is best fulfilled by holding up to the reader the image of a man, then this autobiography fulfills that function."

—James D. Morrison

Southeastern State College
Durant, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JANUARY 26, 1961

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 10:00 a.m. Thursday, January 26, 1961.

Roll call was by Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary, with the following members present: Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George Bowman Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift,, Joe Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Judge R. A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Joe McBride, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and George H. Shirk. The following members were absent: Kelly Brown, Exall English, T. J. Harrison, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, J. Lloyd Jones, Mrs. Frank Korn, R. M. Mountcastle and Judge Baxter Taylor.

Dr. Harbour moved that all absent members who requested to be excused be so excused. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and unanimously approved.

The Administrative Secretary reported applications for sixty-one new annual members and six new life members. He also submitted a list of gifts and the names of doners. At the request of the president, Judge Hefner provided a life membership roll of his family showing seven names and covering four generations. Mr. Curtis moved that the new members be elected to membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society and that the gifts be accepted. This motion was seconded by Mr. Bass and adopted when put.

Mr. Fraker said that an unusual gift had been received in the form of the personal diary of Mr. Ben Colbert written while he was a member of Theodore Roosevelt's Rouge Riders of Spanish-American War fame. He said that Mr. Robert L. Butler, on the staff of the veterans' facilities at Sulphur, had discovered the diary in the personal effects of Mr. Colbert after his death. Mr. Butler notified Mr. Ted Colbert, of Hot Springs, Arkansas, son of Ben Colbert, telling him of the diary and suggesting that the Oklahoma Historical Society would probably be interested in securing it. Mr. Fisher Muldrow, nephew of Ben Colbert and cousin of Ted Colbert, upon learning of the diary, contacted Ted Colbert, urging that the diary be given to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Ted Colbert, upon receipt of Mr. Muldrow's letter, wrote and informed him that he would be pleased to give the diary to the Oklahoma Historical Society. He then wrote to Mr. Fraker and requested that Mr. Muldrow, "Ben Colbert's favorite nephew," present the diary at the next Board meeting.

Mr. Muldrow made the presentation of the diary and in his remarks said that after the Spanish-American War, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed Ben Colbert as a United States marshal for the Indian Territory. He read excerpts from the diary telling of day-to-day happenings, as recorded by Ben Colbert while he was with the Rough Riders. Ben Colbert was one of the first men up San Juan Hill in the battle of that name.

President Shirk directed that the minutes show that the Board requested Mr. Fisher Muldrow to convey to the entire Colbert family the appreciation of the Oklahoma Historical Society for their kindness in giving the diary to the Society.

The Treasurer's report was made by Mrs. George Bowman. Reading of the report set forth that cash receipts for the month of October were $511.25; disbursements $1,029.54; and cash on hand $4,035.75. November receipts were $1,076.34; disbursements $178.89; total cash November 30 amounted to $4,933.20. The December total receipts were $1,021.93; total disbursements $1,081.85; total cash on hand as of December 31, $4,153.28.

Mrs. Bowman stated that other assets included the Oklahoma Historical Society Life Membership Endowment Fund with the City National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City as $108.92; and that on the present date $200.00 would be deposited to the account, making a total of $308.92. Listed in the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association was $700.00 in the Life Membership Endowment Fund with the deposit of $200.00 previously indicated making $900.00. She said that the first dividend check for the Endowment Fund was received during December and amounted to $9.76.

It was pointed out by Mrs. Bowman that bonds of a face value of $17,500 are in safekeeping for the Life Membership Endowment Fund at the First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City. She said that the busiest month for membership applications had been October, when new annual membership dues amounted to $81.00 and new life memberships $300.00, with $36.00 in renewals.

President Shirk stated that these minutes show that, effective January 1, 1961, proceeds from sale of *The Chronicles* are no longer being transferred to Account 200 but are being retained in Account 18.

It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Mr. Bass that $200.00 be transferred to the Life Membership Endowment Fund as recommended by the Treasurer. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Fraker reported that inasmuch as no other nominations had been made for membership to the Board of Directors for the five members whose terms were expiring at this time, that the five incumbent members had been, in accordance with provisions of the Oklahoma Historical Society Constitution, reelected to another term of five years each, by the casting of one vote for each. He displayed a ballot that had been cast in fulfillment of this requirement. The members thus elected are: Miss Genevieve Seger, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. George H. Shirk, and Judge J. G. Clift.

In making the report for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips, Chairman, said that he would like for all members to see the recently completed storage vault for negative film. He said the vault meets all requirements of the National Archives except atomic protection. He also reported there had been received that day in the newspaper department a new reader-printer machine, which would reproduce newspaper pages from microfilm. He said that these reproductions would greatly expedite fulfilling requests for newspaper articles received from researchers and others desiring copies of articles appearing in newspapers.

Mr. Phillips pointed out that frequently pages in the bound volumes of newspapers were mutilated by people improperly clipping articles from pages in such volumes. This sort of vandalism, he said, would be made impossible by microfilming newspapers shortly after they arrive in the Society's facilities.

It was requested by Chairman Phillips that the Board adopt a rule that would limit access to the vault to an exceedingly few persons. He said this request was made due to the fact that the air-conditioning and humidifying equipment in the vault is extremely

delicate and that the vault should be opened as seldom as possible. Judge Hefner moved that access to the microfilm vault be limited to the Administrative Secretary, the newspaper librarian, the Chairman of the Microflim Committee, and one building custodian; and that no other person whatsoever be permitted in the vault except with prior permission of the Administrative Secretary or the Chairman of the Microfilm Committee. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and carried unanimously.

Chairman of the Library Committee, Mr. Joe Curtis, remarked on the improvement that had been made in the organization and operation of the Library. He enumerated several sets of books stored in the archives which in his opinion were of no use to the Society's archives or library. He estimated there were approximately one thousand of these books that had been on the shelves for twenty-five years or more, with apparently no use. He said some of the books had been stored with the Historical Society since the dissolution of the goverment of the Cherokee Nation. He reported that he had conferred with both Mrs. Looney, Archivist, and Mrs. Williams, Librarian; and that it was their thinking that these books should be placed where they might be used. Many of the books consist of journals of various legislatures of the states of the Union, and are duplicated in other law libraries, said Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Curtis moved that these surplus books, now stored in the archives, be offered to the Law School of the University of Oklahoma and that approximately fifty volumes of THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD now in the possession of the Oklahoma Historical Society be offered Oklahoma Central State College. Upon the second of Judge Clift, the motion was put and carried.

That reservations at Western Hills Lodge for the nights of June 1 and 2 have been made for the 1961 Oklahoma Historical Society tour group was announced by Mr. R. G. Miller, Committee Chairman. He said that the Tour Committee planned to work in close cooperation with the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, so as to schedule stops at many Civil War battle sites as possible. Mr. Miller said that he anticipated there would be four or five bus loads of tourists on this year's tour.

In making his report as Chairman of the Portrait Committee, Judge Hefner called the Board's attention to the fact that the rules and regulations governing the acceptance of portraits had been adopted at the preceding meeting, but that it had been agreed that some editing of such rules be made. This editing, he said had been done and that each Board Member had been furnished a copy of the rules in final form. He moved that the rules and regulations be adopted, as thus submitted, to wit: 1) That no portrait shall be hereafter hung in the Portrait Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society or accepted as a gift for that purpose unless prior invitation has been extended by the Board of Director; 2) That the Board continue to act through a secret committee on screening to recommend portraits for the portrait gallery; and that such committee report, through the President, any selections or recommendations to the Board. That the Board of Directors make the final decision as to inviting the gift of portraits, 3) Realizing that size itself is not a criteria, doners are to be encouraged to contribute portraits not to exceed a size approximately 32" wide and 40" high. Such portraits to be of a quality consistent with the dignity and stature of the portrait gallery and appropriate to the permanent collections of the Society. 4) That the Governers of Oklahoma and the United States Senators from Oklahoma be automatically eligible to have their portraits placed in the gallery. 5) Except for Presidents of the United

States, Governors of Oklahoma, and United States Senators from Oklahoma, under no circumstances shall a portrait of any living person be accepted. 6) That all portraits of outstanding military persons be hung in a special Gallery of Honor on the walls of the auditorium. This gallery shall be deemed part of the Portrait Room for this purpose. 7) That as soon as possible a specially arranged facility be constructed to care for portraits not on permanent display. Such facility to be designed so as to give the maximum of protection to each protrait placed therein. 8) That staff personnel, under the direction of the Administrative Secretary, shall have full latitude in arranging within the Building such temporary displays and special exhibits, using such portraits as may be deemed consistent with the dignity and responsibility of the Society. 9) That the regular portrait committee be given the responsibility of designating those portraits that should be placed in reserve and to report such list to the Board for final action. 10) That exhibition, location, and display of portraits shall be the continuing responsibility of the regular portrait committee, subject, however, to final review by the Board. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion which was adopted unanimously.

Mr. Bass made a brief report on the activities of the Civil War Centennial Commission. He paid particular praise to Dr. Fred Floyd of Bethany College, who as Chairman of the Religious Observance Committee, had spearheaded the work that placed Civil War religious pamphlets in the hands of 5,000 ministers in the state within a period of two weeks. He said that Dr. Rob Roy MacGregor, as Vice Chairman of the Committee, had also been of great assistance. Mr. Bass give special praise to Dr. Jack Greitz for the address he made concerning Lincoln in the auditorium of the Historical Society on Sunday January 8, 1961. He said that President Shirk has agreed to furnish a short item to the press each day concerning some Civil War activity.

Judge Busby requested Mr. Fraker to report on the activities of the Legislative Committee. In complying with this request, Mr. Fraker said that the budgetary requests of the Oklahoma Historical Society for the coming biennium had been filed with the proper officials, but that these requests had not been taken into consideration in the appropriation bills that had been routinely introduced in the Legislature.

It was further reported by Mr. Fraker that materials to be used in substantiating the requests of the Oklahoma Historical Society for increased budgetary items had been prepared and would be placed in the hands of the members of the Appropriations Committees of both houses, whenever the Legislative Committee was called upon to present its case.

The Administrative Secretary also called attention to the new exhibit that had been prepared by Mr. Dale and placed in the south case of the alcove. He said the display had been set up at the suggestion of the Legislative Committee. It shows the present Legislature in joint session and the pictures of the first Legislature, along with various historical items and objects used from time to time by members of the Oklahoma Legislature.

Attention was called by President Shirk to the reprints of "A Tribute, Edgar Sullins Vaught," copies of which had been sent to every Federal Judge in the United States at no expense to the Historical Society. He suggested that the letters of appreciation received from these Judges be given to the family of Judge Vaught. Miss Seger moved that such letters received commending the Historical Society for preparing "A Tribute, Edgar Sullins Vaught" booklet be presented to the family of Judge Vaught. The motion was seconded by Mr. McBride and approved by the Board.

Dr. Harbour moved that the speech made by Judge Orel Busby at the November meeting of the Oklahoma Memorial Association be reprinted in *The Chronicles*. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and adopted.

The Administrative Secretary remarked that he had purposely left out enumerating one item in the gift list. He said he had done this because he wanted to give special emphasis to the particular contribution that had been made. He reported that this gift was a $250.00 contribution made by the President of the Society, Mr. George Shirk. He said that in addition to the gift, President Shirk had spent many hours in the "canyon" doing manual as well as mental labor in sorting out the vast number of items that, through the years, had been stacked in that basement space. Mr. Fraker said that Colonel Shirk was bringing order out of chaos in the storage area and that this work was of tremendous value to the Society.

President Shirk commented that he had really enjoyed his work and that, although many of the items found there could be classified as "worthless", there were a goodly number that were splendid historical materals. He said he had found two boxes of original copies of "Historia," the second publication of the Society and a forerunner of *The Chronicles*. He commented that Mrs. Williams, Librarian, was recommending that a limited number of the surplus copies of "Historia" be offered for sale at $3.00 a number, or $12.00 a volume of four issues. Mr. Phillips moved that the recommendation of Mrs. Williams be followed, with the specification that sales be made only to institutions or people having legitimate need. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and adopted by the Board.

It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mr. Curtis that the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society be authorized to expend not to exceed $2,000.00 from Account 18 for the purpose of improving the facilities in the storage area. The motion was unanimously adopted.

President Shirk then presented the shovel that had been used by Governor Edmondson and other dignitaries of the state in the groundbreaking ceremonies for the new State Capitol office buildings. The groundbreaking was held north of the capitol on December 12.

Information was given by Mr. Fraker to the effect that the Planning and Resources Board had agreed to handle the upkeep of the cemetery at Boggy Depot for the Oklahoma Historical Society providing the Society would execute a lease of the cemetery tract to the Planning and Resources Board. He said such a lease had been drawn up by President Shirk and that he recommended the said lease be approved..

It was moved by Judge Johnson and seconded by Dr. Dale that the lease as prepared be approved. The motion was put and adopted.

On the motion of Mr. Phillips and the second of Miss Seger, Miss Muriel Wright and Dr. Angie Deboe were unanimously voted to Honorary Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Judge Busby moved that the possibility of proper-type advertising in *The Chronicles* be presented to the Publication Committee for consideration. Judge Clift seconded the motion which was adopted.

Judge Johnson announced that the Pontiac Division of General Motors Company had agreed to finance the erection of a statue of Chief Pontiac in the American Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko.

He said the unveiling would take place in Pontiac, Michigan, and that the statue would then be transported to Anadarko. He said a request had been made by the University of Southern Illinois to have the statue on display for a time.

President Shirk called attention to the Board of its duty in fixing the date for the annual meeting, He recommended that the fourth Thursday in April be the date selected. In accordance with this request, Judgee Clift moved that the annual meeting be held on April 27, 1961, beginning at 9:30 a.m. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and adopted.

Dr. Chapman announced that plans are being made in Stillwater and Payne County to commemorate the first battle of the Civil War fought in Oklahoma.

It being determined that no further business was to come before the meeting, Mr. Miller moved adjournment. The motion was seconded by Mr. McBribe and the Board adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED:

LIBRARY:

January 24, 1961

A Treasury of Mexican Folkways—Frances Toor

Webster's Quarto Dictionary, 1854
Donor: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher

27 copies *Harper's Weekly*, 1872-1884

13 copies *Stars and Stripes*, 1918

1 copy *Every Saturday*, May 21, 1870
Donor: Mrs. Virginia N. Williams, Tulsa

The Stephen J. Redden Family of Worcester County, Maryland—Richard S. Uhrbrock
Donor: Richard S. Uhrbrock, Athens, Ohio

Map of Fort Gibson, Oklahoma
Donor: R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee

De Armond Families of America—Roscoe C. D'Armand
Donor: East Tennessee Historical Society, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee

Crow Indian Medicine Bundles—William Wildschut
Donor: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, New York City

Genealogy of William Cornett—J. D. Cornett
Donor: Harry C. Stallings, Oklahoma City

German Bible, 1849
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Hohweiler, Fargo

Transcript copy of letter written by Asenath Vail, May 9, 1820
Donor: Lynde Selden, New York City

The Anderson Genealogy—Andy Anderson
Donor: Andy Anderson, Oklahoma City

The Civil War in Kentucky
Donor: Louisville Courier-Journal, Louisville, Kentucky

Municipal and other Local Governments—Fisher and Bishop

2 issues *National Geographic Magazine*

" Among the Folks in History"—Gaar Williams

" Something Ought to Be Done About This"—Gaar Williams

"Hunting and Fishing"—Gaar Williams
"A Survey of Archaeology and History in the Arkansas-White-Red River Basins"
Our Leave in Switzerland
23 indexed *Life Magazine*
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
Speech delivered by Irvin Hurst at Ground-Breaking Ceremonies for new State Capitol Office Building
Donor: Irvin Hurst, Oklahoma City
Old Letters and Family History Notes of the Bedford Family—Edited by Mrs. Redmond Cole
Donor: Mrs. Redmond Selecman Cole, Tulsa
"Game Mammals of Oklahoma"—Wildlife Conservation Department
Donor: Wildlife Conservation Department, Oklahoma City
Papers concerning State Capitol Building Company
Donor: Family of Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City
Nashville Its Life and Times—Jesse C. Burt
Donor: Forrest F. Reed, Nashville, Tennessee
2 issues of *Oklahoma's*, publication of the USS Oklahoma, 1917
Donor: Charles A. Bartholomew, St. Petersburg, Florida
Poems From A Parsonage—Edna Hull Miller
Donor: Edna Hull Miller, Oklahoma City
Oklahoma City From Public Land to Private Property—Berlin B. Chapman
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater
The Lawyer's Alcove—Ina Warren
5 copies of *The Bibelot*
13 copies of *The Chap Book*
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee
Group of 15 manuscript letters
Donor: Mrs. Etta D. Mason, Atoka
"Bibliography of Theses on Oklahoma in The University of Oklahoma Library"—Mary E. Morris
"Proceedings of Annual Conference The North American Association of Historic Sights Public Officials", September 27-28, 1956 at Woodstock, Vermont
Donor: Elmer L. Fraker, Oklahoma City
Letter from William McKinley to Amos Ewing, December 28, 1895
Donor: Jefferson S. Ewing, Dallas, Texas

MUSEUM:

Pictures:
Cheyenne Sun Dance
Indian Women Cooking at Sun Dance Camp
Cheyenne Sun Dance
Indians, Horses and Buggies at Sun Dance
Indians Watching One Dancer at Sun Dance
Sun Dancers in Tepee
Peace Pipe Ceremony
Two Indians with Peace Pipe
Indians in Circle at Sun Dance
Purchased
Framed oil pointings by Frank Overton Colbert
God of Stability
Taloc, Aztec God of Water
Rain God in Sandstorm
Hop God Tumas
Rainbow God and the Sweat House
Coming into the Fifth World
Cipikne

Macibol
Donor: Mrs. Kate Colbert, New York, N. Y.
First Methodist Sunday School Picnic, G. A. Beidler, Superintendent
Thomas A. Vaughn
Cheyenne-Arapaho Delegates 1889.
Group of Prominent Oklahoma City Men in 1889
Chamber of Commerce Directors 1909
Oklahoma City Before Opening
McNabb Store
Jury in Oklahoma City, 1891
Street Scene in Oklahoma City, 1889, shows ox team
Street Scene in Oklahoma City, 1889, shows wagons and buggies
Main Street in Oklahoma City in 1894
Framed photograph of J. M. Owens
Donor: Mrs. J. M. Owens, Oklahoma City
Brochure, pictures of Oklahoma City in 1905
Donor: Bertha M. Levy, M.D., Oklahoma City
Body Guard at Bier of Abraham Lincoln
Donor: Mrs. Nellie Stump, Oklahoma City
Bacon Rind, large color photograph
Donor: Mrs. Modena Chapman, Oklahoma City
Four views of the Joint Session of the Legislature, January 3, 1961
Purchased
Mary Jane Mitchell, descendant of Mary Todd Lincoln
Donor: Mrs. Ruth Sickles, San Jose, California
Rev. Israel Folsom (Crayon)
Mrs. Israel Folsom (Crayon)
Donor: Mrs. Helen Folsom, Ardmore, Oklahoma
Exhibits:
Alpha Gamma Fraternity Certificate of Alinton Telle, May 22, 1880
Calling Horn, black and white
Calling Horn, engraved, 14 inches long
Horn Spoon, black and white, 7 inches long
Horn Spooon, carved, black and white
Spoon, wooden, carved
Horn, black 8 inches
Hat Band, beaded
Chickasaw Constitution
Leading Men in Indian Territory
New Testament in Choctaw, 1881
New Testament in Choctaw, 1913
Dr. Chase's Recipes, 1870
Bible
Hand Bag, beaded
Watch Pocket, beaded
Laws of Choctaw Nation, 1869
Session Laws of Choctaw Nation
American Indian Journal (Pictures)
The Haversack 1902, Kemper Military Annual (Pictures)
Alinton Telle's license to practice law, June 2, 1880
Diplomas (3) Alinton Telle, Southwestern Presbyterian University
Donor: Mrs. Helen Folsom, Ardmore, Oklahoma
Riding Habit worn by Mrs. Catalina Prater
Donor: Mrs. Hugh Hart, Pauls Valley, Oklahoma
Carbine
Swiss Rifle
Rifle, percussion lock
Shot Gun, double barrel
Rifle, double barrel
Donor: Mrs. E. Edwin Boardman, Oklahoma City
Hand Cancellation Stamp, Prague, Oklahoma
Donor: Lorraine S. Fogarty, Guthrie, Oklahoma

CONFEDERATE ROOM:

Booklet, "The Last Battle in the War Between the States"
Donor: Miss Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma City
Pamphlet, "National Battlefield Park", Richmond, Virginia
A Confederate Calendar
Current copies of Life and Saturday Evening Post
Donor: Mrs. Helen M. Gorman, Oklahoma City

UNION ROOM:

Four GAR Commander-in-Chief Badges
Two Women's Relief Corps Badges
Donor: Mrs. Nellie Stump, Oklahoma City

NEW MEMBERS QUARTER

OCTOBER 28, 1960 TO JANUARY 26, 1961

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

John Marion Baker	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
John E. Kirkpatrick	" " "
R. F. J. Williams, Jr.	" " "
J. Loyd Jones	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Olaf Arrhenius	Grodings, Sweden

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Mrs. O. M. Ferguson	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Paul S. Frame	" "
Mrs. Jesse J. Worten, Jr.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Ross Harlan	Bethany, Oklahoma
B. M. Leecraft	Colbert, Oklahoma
William F. Lavery, Sr.	Cushing, Oklahoma
B. W. English	Duncan, Oklahoma
R. E. DeKinder	" "
R. F. Wilbern	" "
Donald B. Darrah	Durant, Oklahoma
Dr. E. B. Kilpatrick	" "
Harry McKeener	Enid, Oklahoma
Mrs. Margaret Larason	Fargo, Oklahoma
Fred R. Clement	Haskell, Oklahoma
Mrs. Harriett Carpenter	Kingfisher, Oklahoma
Walter T. Edwards	McAlester, Oklahoma
Mrs. Guy Beasley	Madill, Oklahoma
Nadine Vandament	Minco, Oklahoma
Cecil Bohannon	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Mrs. Walter J. Kline	" "
E. E. Million	" "
Paul Philpin	" "
Mrs. Bertha B. Schiefelbush	" "
Mrs. M. H. Thornton	" "
Kenneth E. Crook	Norman, Oklahoma
Mrs. Clarence Reeds	" "
L. George Moody	" "
John T. Bado	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Wilburn Cartwright	" " "
Everett H. Cox	" " "
Leroy Gragg	" " "
D. A. MacKeen	" " "
Jack Reynolds	" " "

John T. Cline	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Miss Alice Scanlan	" " "
John W. Swearingen	" " "
Albert Lee Wheeler, Jr.	" " "
Sister Mary Amabilia	Ponca City, Oklahoma
Ross Floyd	" " "
John A. Bennett	Poteau, Oklahoma
Henry I. Peck	" "
Michael Steinel	Shawnee, Oklahoma
Mrs. Oliver L. Gentry	Spiro, Oklahoma
Newcomb Cleveland	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Richard G. Gibbons	" "
Helen E. Dupy	Waynoka, Oklahoma
Barney E. Christy	Weatherford, Oklahoma
Homer H. Bishop	Wewoka, Oklahoma
Douglas Bryant	Wright City, Oklahoma
E. M. Chitwood	Oakland, California
Thomas French	Redlands, Californiaa
Mrs. Fred Schuessler	Miami, Florida
Ray De Vere Smith	Chicago, Illinois
Walter M. Davis	Springfield, Missouri
Vincent G. Wessel	Bethpage, New York
Mari Sandoz	New York, New York
Dale Reeves	Denton, Texas
Marion Wesley Crowell	Louise, Texas
Lester I. Wilson	Wylie, Texas
Ida M. Cooley	Spilane, Washington
Mrs. Charles Hintz	Green Bay, Wisconsin

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Summer, 1961

Volume XXXIX Number 2

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Cover: The outside front cover shows a color print of a scene on the Canadian River in the region of present Bridgeport, Oklahoma, by the German artist, H. B. Mollhausen. This is one of his original paintings now a part of the rare Whipple Collection in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The artist painted this scene in 1853 when he accompanied the Whipple Survey for the Pacific Railroad through Oklahoma. Mollhausen's narrative, published in England in 1858, was reproduced with annotations in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, 1953.

A TRIBUTE TO JUDGE BAXTER TAYLOR

*By Edward M. Box**

We are gathered today to pay respectful tribute to a great citizen of Oklahoma, Judge Baxter Taylor. He was for many years connected with the directing body of this, The Oklahoma Historical Society, an honorary but at the same time, a demanding position which required much of his time and thought, freely given, however, for the advancement of his adopted State and the preservation of the history of its past.

Before we discuss the life of this truly great man, let us delve for a moment or two in the background from whence he came. In an area located in the northeast corner of the State of Tennessee, which includes the great Smoky Mountains and the valleys of the Watauga, Holston and Nolachucky Rivers, lies Happy Valley. It is a region alive with memories of Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, Andrew Jackson, John Sevier and James Carter, the latter an ancestor of Judge Taylor. It was in this region that Daniel Boone killed the "bar" about which he carved the inscription on a tree near the Jonesboro-Bluntville stage road in the year 1760.

In the town of Jonesboro, the oldest town in Tennessee, Andrew Jackson first settled when he left the Carolinas and came north. There he engaged in the practice of law, for awhile, and thereafter this great man, who was to become a General of the Armies and President of the United States, presided over the Circuit Court. Here in this area was formed what was known as the Watauga Association in 1772. Written articles were drawn for the management of general affairs, and chief among commissioners chosen to administer the new government were James Carter, John Sevier and Charles Robertson.

It was in this area that an independent state was formed called the State of Franklin, and it was here that troops were organized and assembled, some 800 of them, and on the 25th day of September, 1780, those riflemen marched south to Kings Mountain where on October 7th the British Army, under Colonel Patrick Ferguson, was routed and defeated. Historians tell us that this was the turning point of the Revolutionary War.

Here was born General Nathaniel G. Taylor, who fought with Jackson and commanded a regiment of Tennesseans in the battle of New Orleans, and thereafter fought with Jackson in the Indian Wars.

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* Hon. Edward M. Box is a practicing attorney with law offices and his residence in Oklahoma City. As the long time friend of Judge Baxter Taylor, he presented this tribute before the Oklahoma Historical Society in its annual meeting on April 27, 1961.

BAXTER TAYLOR

Here was born another Nathaniel G. Taylor, grandfather of Baxter Taylor, who became a Methodist minister of great renown, and who served his state in the halls of Congress and his nation as Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Andrew Johnson, President of the United States after the death of Abraham Lincoln.

Among the sons of Reverend Nathaniel G. Taylor were James, the father of Judge Baxter Taylor, and Alfred Alexander Taylor and Robert Love Taylor. Biographers tell us that James Taylor was probably the most profound of the Taylor boys, but he paid little attention to politics, preferring to be a farmer, although he did serve one term as Adjutant General of the State of Tennessee.

The history of two of these brothers, uncles of Judge Taylor, is replete with great political accomplishments. Each of them were lawyers, born in Carter County, Tennessee, which said County was named after the James Carter about whom we have spoken. Each were elected to Congress. Bob Taylor served three terms as Governor of Tennessee and was then elected to the United States Senate in 1907. He died in Washington in 1912. Alf Taylor served also in the House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee, and was elected Governor of Tennessee.

These two men, affectionately known as Bob and Alf Taylor, established great reputations for themselves in law, in politics, as orators and as lecturers. Both were efficient fiddlers and they interspersed their famous lectures with tunes played on their violins. To read their lectures and observe the wonderful command they had of the English language explains, in part, from whence came the eloquence of our beloved friend, Judge Baxter Taylor.

In the gubernatorial campaign of 1886 these remarkable brothers, Bob and Alf Taylor, were pitted against each other in the campaign for Governor, Bob a Democrat—Alf a Republican. Bob, and his followers, wore white roses. Alf, and his followers, wore red roses. The campaign became known as the War of the Roses. It was bitter to the end. Bob won. Alf lost.

Their last speeches are most significant. Alf concluded his by saying:

> My countrymen, a few words and I will end my connection with the most remarkable contest which our country has witnessed. It has been a War of the Roses, but, thank God, it has been bloodless. My brother has been my foeman but, although our blades have often flashed steel, they are not stained. We have striven with all our might in the defense of the principles which each believed to be right, although they differed as do the poles. I say to you now that after all these eventful struggles I still love my brother—love him, as of old, with an undying affection—but politically, my friends, I despise him.

And, immediately, following Bob concluded his campaign as follows:

I thank God that it has been reserved for Tennessee to declare to the world that even two brothers can debate principles without descending to the level of personalities or abraiding in the least the tender relations of brotherhood. The memorable campaign of 1886 will, indeed soon be closed but let me assure you that I today love the man who has borne the Republican banner as dearly as when, in the good old days long ago, we slept side by side in the trundle-bed and shared our youthful joys and griefs. I have never seen the hour when I would not willingly lay down my life to save him, nor have I seen the dawn of the day when I would not lay down my life to destroy his party. Fellow citizens, I am done.

Another famous relative and orator of great renown was Landon C. Haynes who became a Confederate Senator from the State of Tennessee, and whose renown as an orator still lives in the hearts of Tennesseans everywhere.

Here is a land about which poems and songs have been written and over which battles have been fought, a land where its inhabitants always have and always will retain a spirit of fierce independence. Would time permit, much more could be said about the background of the achievements of the Taylor family, of which Judge Baxter Taylor was a part. It can be safely said that in all of the galaxy of States there is none where a single family contributed so much for so long in the formation and development of a sovereign state. It is little wonder that this area of romance and history early became known, and still is known as "Happy Valley."

It was here, near the town of Jonesboro, where Judge Baxter Taylor was born in 1877, a son of James T. and Mary George Taylor. Here in this beautiful land he grew to manhood, absorbing its culture and imbued with its history and spirit of independence. [1]

It was from this background of history, tradition, romance, blood and training that Judge Taylor, leaving the state of his birth, came first to Indian Territory in 1906, a courtly and courteous gentleman, which attributes would follow him all of the days of his life.

He first started his career as Editor of the *Atoka Indian Citizen* and then engaged in the practice of law. On October 9, 1907, his residence was interrupted while he went to Holston Valley, Tennessee, where he married the girl of his choice, Love Thomas. He is survived by his wife and his three sons; James Catton Taylor of San Antonio, Texas; Baxter Taylor, Jr., of Dallas, Texas; and Robert Love Taylor of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma together with seven grandchildren and one surviving sister Mrs. James A. Pouder of Johnson City, Tennessee.

---

[1] Baxter Taylor was born on January 20, 1877. He was a graduate of the Cumberland School of Law in Tennessee.

The name of Judge Taylor is indelibly written as a part of the history of his adopted state. He served two terms as County Judge, and two terms as County Attorney of Atoka County, Oklahoma. He was Assistant Attorney General of the State of Oklahoma, Chairman of the State Industrial Commission, Attorney for the School Land Department, and served in various legal capacities in the offices of three Governors of Oklahoma: Martin E. Trapp, William J. Holloway and William H. Murray.

For Judge Taylor, education and mental development did not cease at the college door. His was an inquisitive mind, and throughout his life he was ardent in his quest of knowledge. He could discuss with you knowingly many of the finer arts, music, history, literature, biographies, and always the current issues of the day.

As a lawyer, Judge Taylor in my honest judgment, never sought to practice for material gain alone. He was a lawyer's lawyer, and this is the greatest compliment that can be paid to any lawyer. It means, in substance, that he was a man with whom lawyers liked to deal, a man whose word was as good as his bond, and a man who never resorted to chicanery or trickery, who would do anything that he could honorably do for a client. To him his religion, his profession, and his politics were matters of sacred concern and he left them all at the end of a long and useful life, untarnished and unsullied.

In the practice of his profession Judge Taylor was always the most courteous of lawyers. It so happens that in one rather famous case, the "Fire Bells Campaign" of the Bill Murray administration in Oklahoma, we were cast on opposite sides. The battle was fought in the Blue Room of the State Capitol before Colonel Sneed, Secretary of State, and in the corridors, in the courts, and finally, as Judge Taylor would say himself, the issues were debated "in the hustings." Throughout the entire progress of this bitter legal battle and political campaign, no word was ever spoken by him that in any manner could be offensive to the feelings of his opponents. It can be truly said of him, as Abraham Lincoln once said of himself, that he never wittingly or willingly planted a thorn in the bosom of any man.

In politics Judge Taylor was an ardent Democrat. He believed in his party, and he fought for it with great zeal. His reputation as an orator was widely known, and he was in great demand all over the state wherever oratory was needed to advance the principles of the party he loved so well. It was in this field that the writer was first privileged to know him in 1920, and that acquaintance continued intimately throughout the balance of his

life and until he laid aside its cares and burdens in the month of April, 1961.[2]

Judge Taylor was a profoundly religious man and he believed most fervently in the pronouncements and the promises of his God, his Bible and his church. He made no claim to being a musician, but he was a fiddler of great ability. He could be serious and unyielding where a principle was involved, but he could also be kind and humorous, and some of the pleadings which he filed and the speeches which he made in a humorous vein will live forever as classics in the annuals of Oklahoma legal history.

Though he loved his adopted state he never forgot nor permitted his love for his native state and its hours of greatness and glory to diminish or abate. The writer has listened by the hour enthralled at his discussion of the era long vanished, where men sought to make use of the spoken word, euphonic and enchanting, untrammeled by the use of cold statistics or mathematical analysis which had for their purpose enriching the pocket book instead of the mind. He was truly a link between the old South and the modern age and breaks another chain with which we who knew him were linked to the past and leaves us now to resort to history rather than to his recollections of the passing of a beautiful age. Though he may or may not have accumulated greatly in material gains, he has bequeathed to all of us a library of memories having a value beyond description and which we would not part with for any price.

And now, as we bid bon voyage and safe landing to the spirit of our beloved friend, may it be that at his journey's end he shall find prepared for him, as a just reward for the life that he lived, another "Happy Valley," a land where happiness abounds, where there is fiddling and singing, with dinner on the ground, and where the oratorical gladiators foregather to discuss and debate the issues of the ages, and where, when the enchanted spell of evening casts its shadow there may be heard the lyrics of the chase, the bugle and the bass of racing hounds, whose music is understandable to only those who love it. May he find a land where the soothing caress of the mountain breeze, the lilting song of the mocking bird, and the restful murmurs of the rippling streams bring peace—peace, tranquil and sublime, where the burden of the years is lifted, so that he can enter Happy Valley once again in the fullness of eternal youth, untroubled and unburdened, re-united with the faces and the friends that he has known, and to be joined in just a little while by those he left behind.

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[2] Judge Baxter Taylor died at his home in Oklahoma City on April 2, 1961. Funeral services were held in the First Presbyterian Church, and interment was in Memorial Park Cemetery, Oklahoma City.

OTIS HOOVER RICHARDS: 89'ER

*By Glenn A. Welsch**

Otis Hoover Richards was born in Independence, Missouri, August 13, 1867, the son of John R. Richards and Euphrasia Hoover Richards. His paternal grandparents were Jacob W. Richards and Louise Carmichael Richards of Belmont County, Ohio; maternal grandparents were John G. Hoover and Eliza McGraw Hoover of Clermont County, Ohio. Mr. Richards came to Oklahoma Territory in 1889 and was a part of the history of Oklahoma from that date until his death near Arnett, Oklahoma on January 1, 1961.

Mr. Richards grew up on a farm on the Walnut River in Cowley County, Kansas. As a youth he exhibited the interests and enthusiasms that continued throughout his life as a pioneer in Oklahoma. During his early life he studied literature, penmanship, and history. In his teenage years he became interested in writing for *The Winfield Courier*. Throughout his life he continued to write for newspapers and periodicals. A number of his vignettes on the history of Oklahoma have been published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*[1] As a youth Ote, as he was known to all of his friends, moulded the lead bullets for his father's muzzle-loader, and became an expert marksman.

This skill led to many interesting and sometimes humorous incidents in his early adult life.

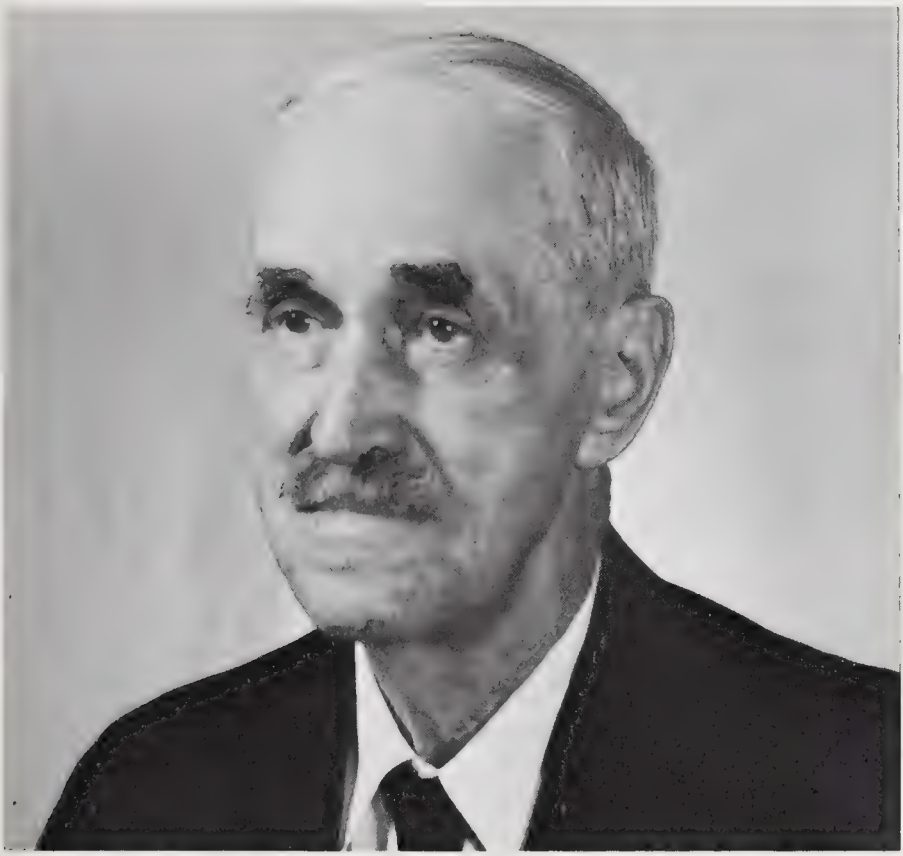
At the age of twenty-one, Mr. Richards made the run into Old Oklahoma arriving at Guthrie April 22, 1889. He filed on a claim twelve miles northwest of Guthrie on Wolf Creek. An interesting account of these experiences, written by Ote himself, was entitled "Memories of an 89'er," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

In December 1892, Mr. Richards disposed of his claim in Logan County and entered the Cedar Rapids Business College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. During his stay from 1889 to 1892 on a claim near Guthrie, Mr. Richards continued to write special dispatches

---

* Glenn A. Welsch is a native of Oklahoma, born in Woodward County. He received his M. S. degree from Oklahoma State University and his Ph.D. from the University of Texas. He was commissioned Major of the Army Signal Corps in World War II. Dr. Welsch is Professor in the College of Business Administration, The University of Texas.—Ed.

1. Articles published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* were: "Memories of an 89'er," Vol., No. (1948); "1890 Condtions on an Oklahoma Claim," (Notes and Documents), Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (1953); "Dr. O. C. Newman," Vol., No. (19); "O. E. Null," Vol., No. (19); "Old Day County," Vol. No. (19).



OTIS HOOVER RICHARDS

The Progress bought the Tribune out. The Progress had several different owners, S. G. Miller, Richard Stewart, Albert McGill, and the last owner was A. L. Squire. E. L. Mitchell and his brother Dick started the "Canadian Valley Echo" about 1904. Later E. L. was admitted to the bar, with offices at Clinton, he became a district judge and at one time he was boomed for governor. Dick is editor of the Prahapt Bee.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours truly,

O. H. Richards

Part of a letter written by Mr. Richards giving names and some history of early newspapers in Western Oklahoma.

for the *Winfield Courier* under the pseudonym "An Oklahoma Traveler." An interesting event in his life occurred when in 1952 the *Winfield Courier* published its 100th anniversary edition. Ote was pleased to read in this edition one of his original dispatches entitled "Conditions on an Oklahoma Claim," that he had written fifty years before. Needless to say the *Courier* was pleased to learn of the identity of the author and subsequently published additional dispatches.

Upon completion of study at Cedar Rapids, Mr. Richards taught in similar schools and became known as a penman of rare ability. Many of his works today hang on the walls of homes and public buildings in Oklahoma and Texas. Mr. Richards retained this unusual ability well past eighty years of age.

In 1896 Mr. Richards was in Denver, Colorado teaching and doing penmanship. He engaged in mining for gold and silver at Leadville, Colorado and during the bloody strike there he joined the Colorado National Guard and remained on duty throughout.

In 1897 he returned to Oklahoma Territory entering the Cheyenne-Arapahoe territory which had just been opened to settlement. His father filed on a claim since Ote had used his filing rights near Guthrie in 1889. He purchased a relinquishment on a claim near his father's claim on the Canadian River near old Grand, the county seat of old Day County. At his death Mr. Richards still owned these two acreages.

Immediately upon his return to Oklahoma Mr. Richards became active in building the new country. Shortly after his arrival in Day County, he was appointed Deputy Clerk of the District Court. One of his principal duties in this capacity was to take land-files for all of the settlers. He also took the first census in Day County in 1900. Pioneers arriving in Day County very soon became acquainted with Ote and came to think of him as a true friend, always willing to help strangers and new-arrivals. His high standards of honesty, competence and morality were recognized and respected by these hardy pioneers. Mr. Richards took an active interest in the political developments of the area. In 1907, Old Day County was broken up and two other counties were formed. Mr. Richards served as Registrar of Deeds in Ellis County from 1911 to 1915. His last public office was as clerk of the District Court in Ellis County from 1930 to 1934. Even today interested persons in perusing the public records now on file in Ellis County for various purposes admire the beautiful handwritten records prepared over the years by Mr. Richards, personally.

In 1902, he married Emma Belle Carper, who was reared also in Cowley County, Kansas and was an early day school teacher in Day County. Over the years Mr. and Mrs. Richards have lived

on their ranch now located in Ellis County. In later years Ote's great interest was his grand children and his great-grand child. The reader can be assured that an indelible imprint of the real history of Oklahoma was made on the mind of each of them.[2]

The *Ellis County Capital* "Reminiscences" was a series of articles that he wrote in the 1940's. He contributed to The Northwest Cattleman, official organ of the Northwest Cattleman's Association, published at Woodward, Oklahoma.

During the early years in old Day County the pioneers organized a Masonic Lodge. Mr. Richards joined Texmo Lodge No. 56, located at Texmo, Day County, on the south side of the Canadian River. When the lodge at Grand was organized he was one of the charter members. In later years he was a member of the St. Albans Lodge No. 192 of Arnett, Oklahoma. He was honored in 1952 by the Shattuck and Arnett lodges on the completion of 50 years of membership in the Masonic Order.

One of the most appropriate tributes to Mr. Richards was written by Mr. O. F. (Fant) Word, the son of another true pioneer of Old Day County and close friend to Mr. Richards. This tribute published in *The Ellis County Capital* in 1946 read as follows:

THE SAGE OF RED BLUFF

"Down in the hills, hard by the red banks of the predatory old Canadian River, there is a genial philosopher whose radiations reach far out from the sequestered homesite under the cottonwoods of his valley.

"His hair is touched by the snows of the bleak prairie winters he has known, and the burning suns of summer have marked his face with the brand of Out-of-Doors; but the wrinkles about the eyes and mouth were left by smiles, and the quizzical eyes are alight with humor and goodwill.

"There have been stirring phases in our short tumultuous history, as a territory and as a state, sometimes marked by violence, often with pathos—always by drama; and with his heaven sent gift, the Sage has been able to find in almost every event that priceless thing which makes life livable—humor.

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2 Mr. Richards is survived by his wife and their five children oldest, Lois Richards, formerly a school teacher in Oklahoma and now the wife of John A. Buckles. John C. Richards, the oldest son is a farmer and rancher in Ellis County, Oklahoma and resides on the family ranch with his mother. Linden J. Richards married Irene Worten of Pawhuska, Oklahoma. Irma Richards Welsch, is the wife of Glenn A. Welsch, Professor of Accounting at The University of Texas, Austin, Texas. The youngest child Otis Harold Richards married Hannah Worten of Pawhuska, Oklahoma. Harold is a geologist for the Continental Oil Company and resides at Abilene, Texas.

"To sit as auditor while this man delves in the veritable library of remembered things, spiced by shrewd commentaries from his own philosophy, is both a pleasure and a privilege. An artist in woodcraft, he etches the narrative in sharp outline, and the listener senses the background, the lights and shadows in the picture. These tales are factual, but the hearer's fancy is given a 'looser rein,' and he can occasionally glimpse the bright face of danger, and hear the keen rebel yell and the pound of flying hooves that marked a turbulent era.

As an observer and commentator upon the lives and doings of his contemporary citizenry, the Sage has few if any peers. There was little that passed him in the brawling, ruddy torrent of life that he did not note, and in the mellowed light of years, he can see in retrospect the figures and events of our days as an animated film—a brave cavalcade of people, men and women, old and young, the generous, the mean, the good, bad and indifferent. They are all there, in his remembrance, figures of the folk he has known —and loved.

"His work as a scribe is invaluable, for much of the period of his observance would be lost to posterity were it not for his memoirs."

HONORABLE THOMAS P. GORE: THE BLIND SENATOR

By Monroe Billington *

Oklahoma's first Senators began their official duties in Washington, D. C., after they were administered the oath of office on December 16, 1907. The two men caused much comment upon their appearance in the nation's capital. The new state had elected as its first United States senators Robert L. Owen, part Cherokee Indian and Thomas P. Gore, a totally blind white man. Mr. Gore's interesting senatorial and political career cannot be accurately assessed without a full understanding of the role of his physical handicap.[1]

Tom Gore had lived eight years of normal boyhood on a Mississippi farm when, one day while he and a young friend were playing near where the family's work oxen were grazing, Tom was struck in the left eye by a stick thrown by his playmate. The vision of his eye was partially impaired, but his parents were hardly aware of the fact at the time, and no medical attention was given after the accident. Three years later Tom purchased a toy crossbow for his brother's birthday. Before making the presentation, Tom decided to shoot the bow once to be sure that it would work. The arrow lodged in the bow and when he tried to get it out, it came loose and struck him in the right eye. The wound was so bad that the youngster was taken to New Orleans where the eye was found completely damaged and had to be removed.[2] With the loss of one eye, the boy was compelled to depend upon the injured one to which delayed medical attention was given. He was able to use the remaining eye to play the usual children's games, and he could diagram sentences on a blackboard but by the time he was twenty years old he was totally blind.[3]

With darkness slowly enveloping the boy, his father suggested that he be sent to an institute for the blind. Tom rebelled at this idea. His father did not insist upon his suggestion, so the blind

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* Monroe Billington, Ph.D., is a native of Oklahoma, and now is Associate Professor of History in the University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota. He contributed an article on the political career of Thomas P. Gore as United States Senator from Oklahoma, appearing in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1957), pp. 265-94.—Ed.

1. This article is an extended version of one appearing in a magazine for blind readers. See "The Career of Thomas P. Gore," *Matilda Ziegler Magazine for the Blind* (braille edition), Vol. LI (August, 1957), pp. 35-40.

2. *The Warden,* (Walthall, Mississippi) March 3, 1882.

3. Personal letter from Gore's brother, Ellis, March 2, 1955.

boy continued to attend school with other children. His classmates, his sister, and his mother read his lessons aloud to him.[4] Treated like an ordinary child, the boy had an almost normal childhood. He later attended the law school of Cumberland University in Lebanon, Tennessee and after receiving a bachelor of law degree, he assisted in his father's law office at Walthall, Mississippi, practicing throughout the county.[5]

Young Gore's interest centered in the political field as a public speaker not law, and he was soon giving most of his attention to politics. He became one of the most important of the Populist orators in Mississippi during the early years of the 1890's. Although he never won a public office in his native state, his was an important voice in the "dirt farmers' revolt."[6]

Gore moved west from Mississippi to Texas, and tried his luck in politics, after going to Corsicana in December, 1895. Two years later, he was the victim of a political frame-up when character charges were made against him in connection with his friendship for a blind girl whom he visited occasionally. During the trial that resulted in July, 1898, the District Attorney requested the jury to return a verdict of not guilty because the evidence was insufficient to sustain a conviction.[7] The Texas Populists nominated Gore for Congress in 1898, and he was defeated but there is no evidence that the recent trial influenced the election.[8]

In 1900, Gore married Miss Nina Kay, whom he had met four years earlier at a Populist picnic. Miss Kay won the heart of the blind man at their first meeting. She offered to serve his plate, and asked what of the chicken he liked best. When he answered that the gizzard was his favorite piece, she returned with a plateful

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4. Charles H. Pittman, a distant relative, at one time lived in the Gore household, and for reading lessons to the blind youth he received his room and board free for over two years. Pittman later recalled that Gore "liked Math, disliked Latin, loved the natural sciences, and was especially fond of the social sciences." C. H. Pittman, "Oklahoma's Blind U. S. Senator," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine,* Vol. V. (November; 1907), pp. 42-43.

5. *The Warden,* June 10, July 22, August 22, 1892. James Creelman, "The Blind Senator from Oklahoma," clipping from an unidentified newspaper, n.d., in Thomas P. Gore Papers (Manuscripts Division, University of Oklahoma Library).

6. For a detailed account of Gore's political activities in Mississippi, see the author's "The Political Apprenticeship of Thomas P. Gore," *Mississippi Quarterly,* Vol. XI (Summer, 1958), pp. 141-50.

7. District Court, Navarro County, Texas, No. 4, October 7, 1895 to December 18, 1902, p. 233.

8. Personal interview Corsicana residents, Pierce Colquitt and Marion Martin, August 15, 1958.

of them.[9] Gore later recalled. "I couldn't get that brown-eyed girl out of my mind so I married her." When asked years later how she felt marrying a blind man, Mrs. Gore replied, "The blindness was so unimportant that I never gave it a second thought."[10] The Gores moved to Oklahoma Territory a few months after their marriage, and it was in the Oklahoma senatorial race in 1907 that Gore was at last successful in his bid for public office.

As a member of the Democratic minority during his first years in the Senate, Gore spent most of his time opposing measures sponsored by Republicans. Following the advance publicity over his being the first totally blind man to enter the United States Senate, the new Senator came into public notice again when he joined a filibustering action in 1908 against the bill which ultimately became known as the Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act. This bill, confessedly a makeshift measure, was coaxed through Congress only after the failure of the famous La Follette filibuster which temporarily delayed its passage and the adjournment of Congress. During the filibuster, La Follette held the floor continuously for over eighteen hours, sustaining himself by drinking an egg and milk mixture and eating an occasional sandwich during quorum roll calls. William J. Stone of Missouri at last came to the aid of La Follette, and Stone was relieved by Gore as the blind man took up the cudgels for the obstructionists.

Before joining the marathon, Gore had laid careful plans. He was to be relieved by Stone, then La Follette was to take his place again after resting through the night. Stone left the Senate chamber for a rest during the Oklahoman's speech. When he returned Gore was informed that the Senator from Missouri was present, and ready to speak. After speaking for two hours, Gore concluded his first long speech in the Senate, turned his sightless eyes toward Stone's seat, and sat down, expecting to hear the Missourian claim recognition. Much to the chargin of those carrying on the filibuster, Stone had stepped out of the Senate chamber after Gore had been informed of his return. Unaware of Stone's departure, the blind obstructionist surrendered the floor when no collaborator was present to claim it. It was a costly mistake, and many suspected that Stone had been called out of the Senate chamber in order to trick the blind man, but this was never proved. A popular rumor had it that Gore had been forced to sit down by a Senator pulling at his coattails, but Gore later discounted this version of the incident.[11]

Seizing the opportunity, the chairman of the Finance Commit-

9. Campaign Literature, 1936, in Gore Papers.
10. Personal interview with Mrs. Thomas P. Gore, May 23, 1953.
11. Gore to Franklin L. Burdette, August 18, 1939, in Gore Papers.

tee demanded a roll call on the bill. Weldon B. Heyburn of Idaho shouted for recognition when he realized what was happening. When the Vice-President hestitated in the confusion, Aldrich dashed from his seat to the well of the chamber, shook his finger at the presiding officer, and yelled for a roll call. Heyburn continued to clamor for recognition. With the Vice-President's hesitation, the secretary of the Senate, who had previously promised to co-operate with the bill's sponsors if the opportunity arose, began calling the roll. As first on the list, Aldrich quickly responded to his name, but the Vice-President declared that it was only fair to recognize the Senator from Idaho inasmuch as the chair's attention had been distracted for the moment. Aldrich insisted that the roll call had begun and that, under the Senate rules, it could not be interrupted after a Senator had responded to his name. This argument being technically correct, the roll call was continued.

The *Congressional Record* shows that Heyburn had asked for recognition before the beginning of the roll call,[12] and there is no question that the filibuster was overcome by doubtful practice. The obstructionists had hoped to talk until general congressional demands for adjournment forced the abandonment of the legislation.[13] With this hope lost, the conference report was accepted, and the President signed the bill within a few hours after Gore's fatal error.

Senator Gore received further national attention a year later during the debates on the Payne-Aldrich tariff law. The blind man's "remarkable wit, prodigious memory, and real intellectual forces" revealed in those debates added a good deal of public respect for his ability.[14] It was at this time that Gore amazed his colleagues with his retentive mind. Citing from memory a long list of New England cotton and woolen manuacturing companies and giving their gross earnings, capital stock, profits, dividends, and surpluses in an effort to show that such corporations were making large earnings and thus did not need tariff protection. Gore reeled off the statistics with such ease that he astonished his listeners, both friend and opponent.[15]

When Senator Gore allegedly thwarted the efforts of Robert A. Rogers of Oklahoma City to become Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of Interior, Rogers' proponents, who stood to profit by the appointment, conspired to ruin Gore politically by an attack on his

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12. *Congressional Record,* 60 Congress, 1 Session, p. 7259.

13. Franklin L. Burdette, Filibustering in the Senate (Princeton, 1940), p. 90.

14. *American Review of Reviews,* Vol. XL (July, 1909) p. 9.

15. *Congressional Record,* 61 Congress, 1 Session, pp. 2651-52; *The New York Times,* June 3, 1909; Thomas R. Marshall, *Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall* (Indianapolis, 1925), p. 319.

personal integrity. A suit was filed against Mr. Gore in 1913, and in the trial, the defendant's attorney held that the charges had been made by a person by the name of Bond and others who were disappointed office seekers and that their efforts were nothing more than a conspiracy to smear the blind senator.[16] The facts as they came out during the trial supported the defendant's position. It took a jury of nine farmers, a grocer, a banker, and a broker only two and one-half minutes to take one vote completely exonerating Gore. So overwhelming was the verdict that the jury stated: "Had the defendant at the conclusion of the plaintiff's evidence announced that he desired to introduce no evidence rested his case, our verdict would have been the same."[17]

The nature of the charges, the prominence of the parties involved, and the determined efforts of each side made the Gore-Bond case a much discussed topic of conversation and print all over the nation. It attracted more attention in Oklahoma than any other political event since statehood. Beginning with *The New York Times*[18] on to the lowliest Oklahoma weekly, the press agreed that Gore's vindication was fully warranted.

Gore had charged during the trial that the conspiracy was instigated to bring him into disrepute, and wreck his chances for renomination in the Oklahoma Democratic primary in August, 1914. If this were true, the attempted character assassination boomeranged. Not only did Gore have the solid backing of the press in Oklahoma but also the sympathy and support of most of the voters. The people of Oklahoma were convinced that the cheapest of political tricks had been instigated with the sightless man as the victim. Politically, it was good medicine. Basking in the sunlight of the dismissed damage suit, Gore received in the primary race a majority in every county in the state, riding to a three-to-one victory over Samuel W. Hayes. In the general election in November Gore's popularity was at an all-time high as he carried all

16. Oklahoma newspapers which risked editorial comment on the story immediately defended the Senator. Typical was the attitude of *The Democrat* (Tulsa) April 5, 1913; "Suspend judgment on the story from Washington. There have been frame-ups of this sort, and Oklahoma has some frame-up artists who are not dead." *The New York Times,* February 13 and 17, 1914.

17. *Harlow's Weekly,* Vol. V (February 21, 1914, p. 3. For a full account of the trial, sympathetic to Gore, see the autobiography of one of the defendant's lawyers, Moman Pruiett, *Criminal lawyer* (Oklahoma City, 1944), pp. 305-35. A bitter attack against Gore can be read in a highly prejudiced pamphlet entitled "The Bond-Gore Case," in C. B. Ames Papers. This anti-Gore brochure was so malicious it was reportedly barred from the mails by federal postal officials, *The Weekly Free Press,* (Kingfisher) July 30, 1914.

18. February 20, 1914.

but three counties in the state, the Senator winning over Republican John H. Burford.

After his election to the Senate in 1907, Gore had drawn a short term, and had to be re-elected in 1908. The 1914 victory was therefore the beginning of his second six-year term. He was unseated in the Republican sweep of 1920, but he was returned to the Senate by the Oklahoma voters in 1930 for a final six-year period.

Although his physical handicap became a political asset when the marginal farmers of Oklahoma associated his blindness with their own nearly poverty-stricken condition, Gore never directly played on the Oklahoma voters' sympathy because of his handicaps. An occasional opponent complained that Gore took advantage of his blindness during his early political career in Mississippi,[19] but if the charge were true, he rose above such methods in Oklahoma. As a matter of fact, he minimized his sightless eyes to the extent that many people often thought of him as a physically normal individual. The Senator was admired for overcoming his handicap, and this admiration was undoubtedly expressed at times with sympathy votes. Developing a keen sense of hearing, Gore could associate names and voices with uncanny accuracy, even to the extent of recognizing the voices of many people whom he knew only slightly several years previous. Called upon to preside over the Senate on one occasion, Gore without erring recognized each Senator by his voice when he asked for recognition.[20] All good politicians develop the ability to associate names and faces, and by associating names and voices Gore exploited for political purposes his unusual ability.

When the Senator had an important speech to prepare, he would sit alone in his favorite rocking chair and organize the speech in his mind, often holding a cherished book in his hand while meditating. His speeches were extemporaneous with small passages memorized, although he developed a habit of holding a piece of paper in his hand which he often appeared to consult as his speech progressed. He seldom used gestures, and he never had his speeches read by another person. When he spoke on the floor of the Senate, he turned slightly in the direction of the Senator being addressed as if to look at him. Gore had the uncanny ability to anticipate a question or remark from another member when he held the floor, often pausing to turn in the direction of a Senator about to speak to recognize him before the colleague had time to rise completely from his seat. If his remarks were not directed toward any

19. James Sharbrough Ferguson, "Agrarianism in Mississippi, 1871-1900 A Study in Nonconformity" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1952) pp. 550-51.

20. *Harlow's Weekly,* Vol. V (March 28, 1914), p. 11.

particular colleague, the blind orator faced the speaker's desk. With his head tilted slightly backward and with his finger tips lightly touching his desk in front of him as he emphasized his remarks, he spoke out clearly and distinctly in sonorous tones. Even though his hearers might not agree with what he was saying, they were attentive when he spoke.[21]

The Senator's speeches were filled with references to history and literature and this is evidence of his wide reading. Not concerned with light or darkness and often unable to sleep, Gore sat for hours having important books read to him by his wife, his secretary, or any other person available and willing to be pressed into service. If he owned the book being read to him, he sometimes requested that sentences which he considered important be underscored with a pencil. Upon a second reading of the underlined words, he could remember quite clearly the significant portions of any volume. Gore enjoyed visiting secondhand bookstores and browsing among the volumes with his secretary or wife reading occasional passages from books with titles that appealed to him. He rapidly acquired a large and valuable library, a tribute to his love for books.

Mrs. Gore was her husband's constant companion and was often pictured as the "eyes" of the blind man. The devoted couple traveled a lot with Mrs. Gore driving their automobile on numerous pleasure and business excursions. When the Wright brothers were experimenting with the airplane at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, in the summer of 1909, Senator and Mrs. Gore were among the observers, the Senator witnessing the flights through his own imagination and the expert description and explanations given by his wife.[22] In the same way he enjoyed watching football and baseball games and other sports. At county fairs, Gore touched the different animals on exhibit, and judged them by this method.

Nor did the blind man's handicap present insurmountable difficulties in his personal habits. He bought only white shirts, thus preventing the problem of a colored shirt clashing with his suit. Every year his wife bought him a dozen pairs of socks of the same style and color, which also solved a color problem. The Senator always dressed himself, and before having access to the Senate barber shop, he shaved himself. He carried different denominations of coins in separate pockets to facilitate handling, and he never erred in counting change. On his numerous campaign tours, most of which were made without his wife, Mr. Gore carried a large grip

21. For further information on this subject, see Ralph Arden Wasson, "A Study of the Speaking Career and Speeches of Thomas Pryor Gore" (Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1941).

22. W. S. Couch, "Interesting People: Senator and Mrs. Gore," *American Magazine*, Vol. LXVIII (October, 1909), p. 555.

with only the essential articles of apparel in it. When spending a night in a strange room, before he retired he would ask to be led to the bathroom, the door of which he requested to be left open. After tapping around the bedroom and the entrance to the bathroom with his cane and placing his grip on a stool at the foot of his bed, he then retired. The following morning he would be fully dressed and ready for breakfast when others of the party called upon him. When dining he would permit no glasses near him on the table for fear of upsetting them.[23]

Senator Gore's opinion was often sought by parents who wanted him to recommend ways for handling their sightless children. Writing countless letters of encouragement to parents of handicapped youngsters, he freely related his philosophy concerning the blind. He believed that handicapped children should not be isolated from physically normal ones nor placed in an institution surrounded by other blind children. Knowing that blind children would be in competition with those who had sight when they grew up, Mr. Gore believed that they should be made aware of that competition very early in life. He advised that the handicapped child be treated as the other children in the family as far as was practicable with as little distinction as possible because of the deficiency. Of course, he advised that the children should not be permitted to develop self pity.[24]

He recommended that blind children begin studying braille not later than the age of seven, although he himself seldom had occasion to use the braille he had learned as a youth. Since he preferred to read up-to-date news rather than the classics or the Bible—the traditional subject matter of braille writings—the Senator soon lost his braille ability. He recognized the value of phonograph records for blind education, and when the radio came into prominence, he was quick to realize its educational possibilities for the blind.

Because he did not advocate segregation of the blind, the Senator recommended that institutions for the sightless be placed in urban rather than in rural areas.[25] When Oklahoma entered the Union, he wanted the State's institute for the blind located in an urban center containing a university so that the blind would have the benefit of lectures, classes, and library facilities of the institution of higher learning, as well as increased contacts with normal people. He was disappointed when the State's leaders placed the institute in an isolated area.[26] Senator Gore never used seeing-

23. Typed statement signed by Maurice F. Lyons, in Maurice F. Lyons Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

24. Gore to J. Edgar Pew, October 11, 1945, in Gore Papers.

25. Gore to Robert Gandy, January 24, 1947, *ibid.*

26. Gore to T. L. Terry, October 3, 1945, *ibid.*

eye dogs and did not recommend them for other blind persons. He felt that the blind tended to become too dependent on the animals.[27] Summing up his philosophy, he wrote, "The greatest service which the sighted can render the sightless is to help them to help themselves."[28]

Senator Gore never withheld his support when he was asked to aid the cause of the blind. He gave advice to a young sightless attorney, seeking election to office, who had requested a statement from the Senator to help refute those attacking him in the campaign upon the grounds that a blind man should not hold public office.[29]

After his rise to national prominence, Senator Gore lent his assistance and prestige to many organizations established to aid the blind. From 1912 to 1914, he served on the advisory board of the New York Association for the Blind. When the National Library for the Blind was established in 1911 to make available embossed books and music for loan to the blind and to employ blind persons for the copying of books into raised print for the library, Thomas P. Gore was appointed its first vice-President. During the First World War, he offered the services of this library to the government in preparing printed matter for blind soldiers if the need arose.[30] The Senator became president of the organization in 1936, retaining that position until 1946 when the independent library was merged with the Library of Congress, Division for the Blind.

Although Tom Gore was totally blind by the time he was twenty years old, he allowed several attempts to restore the sight of his left eye. In 1908, he underwent treatment for the eye with the hope of restoring partial sight,[31] and a few years later he indicated interest in the methods of a faith healer who claimed divine

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27. T. L. Terry to J. Edgar Pew, October 17. 1945, *ibid.*

28. Gore to Albert A. Barnhard, August 31, 1928, *ibid.*

29. Albert Barnhard to Gore, August 25, 1928; Gore to Barnhard, August 31, 1928, *ibid.*

30. Mrs. Thomas P. Gore to Woodrow Wilson, July 2, 1917; Wilson to Mrs. Gore, July 2, 1917, in Woodrow Wilson Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

31. Gore to R. L. Williams, June 6, 1908, in R. L. Williams Papers in Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. (Thomas P. Gore, of Lawton, was elected U. S. Senator from Oklahoma, by the First State Legislature in December, 1907, to serve until March 3, 1909; and was re-elected by the Second State Legislature for the term, 1909-15. He was elected as U.S. Senator by a vote of the people, for the term, 1915-21; and was elected and served a fourth term as U. S. Senator from Oklahoma, 1931-35.—Ed.)

powers.[32] He also submitted himself to a relaxation method of treatment in 1921, but all efforts to restore his vision were in vain.

Senator Gore's eyes were medium blue, his right glass eye matching the other almost perfectly. They were accentuated by his blonde hair which prematurely turned silvery white. With blue eyes, white hair, and fair complexion, the six-foot, two-hundred-pound Senator was a figure of striking dignity as he walked hurriedly and erectly, his ever- present cane swinging from an arm with the other arm locked in that of his young man secretary.

Senator Gore's lasting contribution was the inspiration that he gave the blind. Refusing to allow his handicap to discourage him, he reached the pinnacle of success when he was elected from Oklahoma to the United States Senate. His life will remain a challenge to others who may be handicapped like him in this world of those who are blessed with sight.

32. Gore to E. W. Whitaker, May 28, 1915, in Gore Papers.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS: OKLAHOMA'S HERITAGE

*By Judge Orel Busby**

We are met here today on an occasion which calls for both solemnity and joy. We sadly pay homage to the memory of three great Oklahomans who have passed on to Eternal Rest. But we rejoice to commemorate the birthdate of what was fifty-three years ago the infant State of Oklahoma.

Biography of the three Oklahomans whose memory we honour today reveals: Edgar S. Vaught, Christian gentleman, outstanding lawyer, teacher, eminent jurist, philosopher, civic leader, and city and State builder; Anabel Gum, daughter of Democracy, patriotic humanitarian, a gentle, lovely lady, who was active in worthwhile club activities; and Roy M. Johnson, independent thinker, fearless editor and moulder of public opinion, pioneer business man and pioneer in the oil industry, a philanthropist, church and civic and state leader.

While we have a feeling of sadness because of the passing of these friends, we also have a feeling of joy for the unparallelled record of achievement of our State as one of the greatest states in the Union. Furthermore, we can point with pride and satisfaction to the fact that our departed friends were outstanding characters who helped to make our State what it is and who left their indelible imprint on its fifty-three years of history.

No state in our nation can rise in greatness above the level of its leaders.

The heritage of a state—even only fifty-three years old—is largely embodied in the ancestry of its leading citizens who helped mould it in its infancy and early growth. For that reason Oklahoma has its literally thousands of famous ancestors who are or were in reality active and sturdy pioneers, or sons and daughters of pioneers, who wrought better than they knew in its creation. In every rural area, town and city and county, we have had, and still have, a quota of these citizens, dead or living,

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* This address in memory of Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Mrs. Anabell Gum and Mr. Roy M. Johnson was delivered by Judge Orel Busby at the memorial services of the Oklahoma Memorial Association on November 16, 1960. The occasion also commemorated the Fifty-third Birthday of the State of Oklahoma. Judge Busby is a former Justice of the State Supreme Court, and is serving as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He is a well known attorney in Ada, Oklahoma, and has lived in this part of the state since he was brought here in the arms of his parents traveling by covered wagon to the Indian Territory, in 1890.—Ed.

who have done their share building Oklahoma from Statehood Day, November 16, 1907, until this day in 1960.

Oklahoma did not start its career in 1907 as a State of contentment, but as a State of opportunity and progress. And this was because of the stature and ability of those who came to a new country filled with eager ambition, dynamic action, and the desire and ability to do things. They were willing to work, and willing to dare. They recognized that with energy, habits of thrift, trained minds and courageous hearts, they could build a future State second to none. We now enjoy and rejoice in the benefits of their accomplishments.

Hence our romantic background stems from the fact that its sturdy pioneers swarmed into the two territories which to them represented a promised new land of soil, grass and water. It meant an area to build, and to turn around in—to breathe and be free. It offered new space calling for new activities and new institutions. Every man wanted something for himself and relied on himself. He was ready to tame the wild prairies of the western territory and to clear the wilderness of the eastern territory. These twin territories were literally then the last frontiers and the pioneers swept into this alluring land. Among them came the wanderers, the restless, the lawless, the land-hungry, the cast-offs, the individualists, the indomitable squatters, sooners, boomers—as well as the trustworthy and the God-fearing.

The trustworthy and God-fearing were in the great majority and were the salt that leavened the loaf. They replaced the men who hated the plow: that is, the cowboys and cow men with their cow pens and barbed wire.

These pioneers had many striking characteristics: a practical turn of mind, restless nervous energy, dominant individualism, and the buoyancy and exuberance that comes from confidence in the fate of the future. Part of their dream was to build something new in homes, schools and churches, cities, and above all, a State second to none. They came with a spirit of individual enterprise, with imagination and a democratic good nature that gave strength to the communities and helped them survive the first hard years.

There is much romance and romanticism in the fascinating history of those first settlers who lived in sod houses in the western territory and log houses in the eastern. They were soil breakers who followed the cattlemen. But the cow men left their tracks that even the farmers could not plow under.

From the influence of these pioneers handed down to second and third generations there came the town builders who have

built the great cities; business men who have played a great part in our growth; daring pathfinders who have had courage to drill wildcat wells and eventually made us one of the greatest oil producing states in the union; industrialists and manufacturers; doctors who have looked after our health, and lawyers who have provided us with laws and with courts which always follow civilized man; members of the teaching fraternity who were so dedicated that we have a system of schools second to no state in the union—also leaders in the religious field who have so faithfully guided us in our spiritual and moral welfare.

Properly we commemorate today the lives of three outstanding Oklahomans above referred to. But, in my mind's eye, the curtain of time is rolled back and I see fifty-three years of activities of literally thousands of Oklahomans—living and dead—who by their deeds and acts in their own small corner in this state, and in their own humble way, have done their bit, in making our prideful history. But they have not had time to write about it.

And while today we name three of these outstanding Oklahomans and recount their accomplishments, we also owe much to the unsung thousands who in the past fifty-three years have laboured and have passed on to their just rewards.

It is a matter of regret that Oklahoma has so much colourful and romantic history to be proud of yet much of our history seems to be written around the activities of the Daltons, the Youngers, the Jennings, the Belle Starrs, and their ilk. In fact, a new T-V series has just begun on a nationwide hook-up entitled "Oklahoma Outlaws." Actually, in the settlement of the west, Oklahoma has had no more than its share of outlaws but they were only brief actors on the stage of our history. A few fearless, straight-shooting marshals and their deputies limited their careers in each instance to a brief space of time. But the recent T-V programs proclaim these characters as an important part of the warp and woof of our State history. Nothing could be farther from the truth. I do not believe that "sin writes history, goodness is silent." It would be to the everlasting credit of Oklahoma if some alert scriptwriter with ambition, imagination, and ability would portray the activities of the real worthwhile pioneers of this State who actually dominated our early history, and in which early history the outlaws played only a minimum part if any.

You have often heard the phrase that all men are created equal. This is not a literal truth. They are created equal in their relationship to our Creator and in the eyes of our laws. Yet men are not created equal as to character and talents. Some are born with three, five, or ten talents—if made use of; but

talent, inheritance, environment, and our own individual desires, efforts and opportunity make us rich or poor, wise or foolish, holy or unholy, honorable or dishonorable.

Today in commemorating the lives and activities of the three Oklahoma pioneers, we praise them for the part they played in the building of our State. In this commemoration we recognize that among civilized people there is a great and silent compact between the living and the dead. The honored dead toiled for the benefit of those who were to follow in succeeding generations. Such toil embodies the noblest ambition of humanity. They sow that others may reap. They projected their influence into the future for the guidance of other Oklahomans. They desired to survive their funerals. Many persons do not want to pay the price of this survival.

But still it is those who have passed on that largely govern and often control the destinies of the world and mankind more than the living.

This is not strange when we think on these things. We owe our properties, yea our very liberties, to those who preceded us; not to the living. Think of the debt we owe to the Oklahomans who wrote our progressive state constitution and bill of rights some fifty-three years ago.

We inherited from our revolutionary forefathers a government based on the consent of the governed. The electric light in our homes and the modern conveniences that flow from electricity, we owe to Edison—one long gone—who during most of his lifetime lived in hardship and poverty. Think of what we owe to Pasteur and to other outstanding scientists.

We cannot give too much credit to the influence and good impulses of those who have gone on before us. There are the Ten Commandments delivered into the hands of Moses on Mt. Sinai because of the kindly act of Pharoah's daughter. What Moses forbids we obey today. Lawyers boast of the Bill of Rights we now live under. We have this Bill of Rights because the Knights of England wrested them from King John at Runymead in 1265. We settle estates in Oklahoma today according to many of the rules of inheritance written in England hundreds of years ago. Statesmen whose ashes have been cold for thousands of years still speak to the world today. It is the dead who have added greatly to the welfare of mankind. Truly the dead influence the living. If by their works, individuals have added nothing to the betterment of humanity, their names are lost in oblivion; they are remembered for a day and their deaths barely survive their funerals. President Garfield spoke a few short words on this subject just before his untimely death;

he said, "The living obey the dead, and the dead govern the living." And this is the tribute we pay our heritage.

Remember that the conventional things we say or do, do not last beyond our lives. Such is of little or no consequence. The only thing worth doing beyond the routine of our lives, or beyond the conventional, is that which shall continue into and influence the lives to come and for the betterment of humanity, "that frail and delicate fabric which we call the human race."

We honour the lives and memory of three distinguished Oklahomans because by their works, deeds, and achievements in their lifetime they left the world a better place in which to live and to rear our families. They toiled and sacrificed as an inspiration and example to the living and that their good works would extend into the future to benefit those left behind and the generations to come after.

I have dealt here mostly in generalties. I want to add a personal note:

In 1890, Oklahoma and Indian territories were largely wilderness. There were only a few settlements and very few towns of importance. To paraphrase Henry Clay's statement, I grew up in Indian Territory listening to the tread of coming thousands. A million and a half came in the first fifteen years after the run of 1889 into the Oklahoma country. I have watched the transformation of wilderness to a state of homes, schools, churches, cities, super highways, industries and factories. I have lived through an age of miracles. I have seen the change from "arrows to atoms"; I have seen the dreams of the pioneers of yesteryear literally come true in the embodiment of the full grown, lusty and progressive State of Oklahoma.

Oklahomans living today owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to those hardy pioneers who lived through many turbulent and lean years of toil and hardship and who sacrificed for the betterment of mankind.

BRIDGEPORT BY THE CANADIAN

*By Chrystobel Berrong Poteet**

Few towns in Western Oklahoma, either great or small, possess an early history like that of the quiet little crossroads town of Bridgeport. This town, once many times larger than it is now, is located about a mile from U. S. Highway 66, near the Canadian River in the northern-most part of Caddo county.[1]

Treacherous and unpredictable as it has always been, the Canadian River was an important factor in the selection of Bridgeport's location. The railroad bridge which crosses this river was constructed in 1898, and it has served as a connecting link between the east and west portions of this part of the country for more than a half century. The toll bridge which spanned this tricky riverbed of quicksand in past decades gave Bridgeport a certain prominence which other towns along the line never had.

The first toll bridge to span the river was constructed with a long approach on each end and three sixty-foot sections in the middle. It was built in 1893. This bridge enabled settlers from the Cheyenne Arapaho country which was opened in 1892 to come to El Reno to buy supplies. However, this was the third attempt at building a bridge across this treacherous river. During the spring of 1893, two other attempts undertaken by El Reno businessmen to set the understructure for a bridge were swept away by sudden flood waters.

Between the years of 1895 and 1901, all this region south of the Canadian River, east to the 98th Meridian and west to Cheyenne Arapaho country, was known to the white man as Range Country where cattle were grazed by the thousands. Ranchers from this area were forced to drive their cattle on hoof across the flat, Canadian riverbed of quicksand on their way to market.

The crossing of the river was always considered a hazardous undertaking as one or a number of animals might suddenly sink out of sight in the deep quicksand. The Railroad Company officials realizing the great need of shipping facilities for these cattlemen

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* Chrystobel Berrong Poteet (Mrs. C. V. Poteet) has contributed this article on old Bridgeport in Caddo County, in memory of her father, J. H. Berrong who brought his family here when the Wichita-Caddo country was opened to white settlement and made a part of Oklahoma Territory, in 1901. Mrs. Poteet makes her home near Hinton, Oklahoma.—Ed.

1. This part of U. S. Highway 60 which runs across the Northern end of Caddo county was opened July 9, 1934. The new Interstate Highway 40 is one-half mile to the south of Highway 66.

extended a line westward from El Reno across the Canadian River and as far west as Weatherford.

In 1898, the same year that the Choctaw, Oklahoma Gulf railroad[2]—later Rock Island—was built across the entire northern end of the Wichita-Caddo reservation lands, a U.S. survey completed the making of township lines in these lands which everyone knew would soon be opened for settlement. Because of the railroad, a townsite on the south bank of the Canadian River was included in the Government survey. The station was named Bridgeport and lots were plotted designating that this place would become a city of the first class.

For the convenience of the ranchers whose large herds ranged on the land south of the Canadian River, the railroad located a switch complete with stockpens and loading chutes a few miles west of Bridgeport and east of a boxcar station called "Caddo" where the town of Hydro was later founded. [3] This loading place with its strong chutes and high fenced yards was a boon to the men who unloaded cattle by the trainload shipped from Texas in the springtime to this fine grassland and who loaded the fattened animals in the autumn where they were shipped directly to market in Kansas City.

Bridgeport's first Post Office, established February 20, 1895, with Stacy B. Gorham, Postmaster, was located at the north end of the toll bridge inside Gorham's trading post, this store handled many different items in general merchandise and groceries in those days.[4] George Gorham, who kept buying up shares until he owned most of the toll bridge, was the postmaster from 1898 until late 1901 when the post office was moved to the townsite. Sanford Boren who moved to Tulsa years afterward was the toll taker at this bridge.

Before the United States government announced that the Wichita-Caddo Indian Reservation lands were to be opened for settlement in August, 1901, word had already been sent out ahead that Bridgeport was a promising place. So, men with different vocations and most of them with families came to this place to made a home and a name for themselves. Included in the group of men seeking one hundred sixty acres of land upon which to

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2. The name of this railroad, also the stations Bridgeport and Weatherford are shown on a Rand McNally Map published in 1898. The map also shows how township lines had been drawn in the Wichita-Caddo Reservation lands.

3. This information was furnished by Mr. Val Burgman, now 83, who worked as a cowhand in this part of the Territory from 1898-1901. He drew a claim in Blaine county north of Hydro, and has resided there since 1901.

4. George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952).

establish a home was J. H. Berrong, a bridge builder for the Rock Island Railroad. Incidentally he was helping construct a high bridge across this same Canadian River near Tucumcari, New Mexico, in July before the drawing was held at El Reno, August 6 and 7. It was his hope to file on a claim south of Bridgeport but when he arrived from New Mexico all that land had been taken. His second choice was one hundred sixty acres nine miles southeast of the present town of Hinton which was founded in 1902.[5]

From first a city of tents, Bridgeport grew like magic to a population of over three thousand in its first few months. Besides the merchandise stores common to any new pioneer town, there were two lumber yards, a bank, three blacksmith shops, a three-story hotel known as the "Tremont," ten saloons, some with dance halls, and twelve doctors who came thinking this place would be ideal for their practice.

Among the twelve doctors who first came to this frontier town was Dr. A. F. Hobbs,[6] who after seven years practice in Bridgeport, moved to Hinton where he was known as one of that town's prominent physicians for more than forty years.

Three weekly newspapers were published in this young town to keep the townspeople informed on all Territorial affairs. These publications were the *Bridgeport News, Bridgeport Press,* and *The Bridgeport Banner.* When the town of Hinton was founded seven miles south of Bridgeport in 1902, the *Bridgeport News* sold out to Henry A. White who became first editor of the *Hinton Record,*[7] a publication still published regularly each week.

Business was so great during the first year of Bridgeport that

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5. On this homestead, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Berrong reared and educated their eight children, four sons and four daughters. For fifty-three years until the death of Mr. Berrong in 1954, this was the family home. Four of the children who moved to another state are Mrs. E. L. Brown, Dallas, Texas; Everette Berrong, Boulder, Colorado; and Fred and Olney Berrong of Los Angeles, California. Four of the children who built permanent homes in the state of Oklahoma are Mrs. Volga Collier and Sen. Ed Berrong of Weatherford, and Mrs. L. R. Riffel of Enid. When Mr. and Mrs. C. V. Poteet purchased a farm for their home in 1919, they bought a tract six miles south of Bridgeport. Their own four daughters, and now their seven grandchildren know no other place as "home."

6. Dr. A. F. Hobbs, who practiced medicine 54 years spent seven years 1901-1908 in Bridgeport. He was the first person in that town to own an automobile. Many times when the river was too high to use the toll bridge, Dr. Hobbs, a satchel in each hand, walked across the railroad bridge in the darkness of night to reach sick people on the other side of the river. In World War I, Dr. Hobbs was sent to France.

7. Mrs. Marie Wornstaff, teacher in Hinton school system for thirty-six years furnished the information on Bridgeport's newspapers. Also gave news of Tremont Hotel. She has compiled a great amount of information concerning the communities of both Hinton and Bridgeport.

men were waiting to rent a building as soon as it was completed. Most buildings held two, sometimes three business establishments.

One factor that helped immensely in Bridgeport's early business boom was the toll bridge across the Canadian river. Cattle were driven across this bridge to the loading chutes near Bridgeport. The bridge also connected the town with the Cheyenne farm camp in Blaine county. There has been some controversy about the purpose of this camp of log houses. Some declare it was only a place to issue beef to the Indians. But it is authentic to say that the man in charge taught the Indian boys how to farm. His duties were much like the county agent of recent years.[8] Camp Logan was first man to take charge of Indian business affairs at this camp. Herbert Walker was his Indian interpreter. Indians from this farm camp came across the bridge to the Bridgeport bank to cash their quarterly payments. They participated in public barbecues or any other special event held by the white people and so of course spent their money in this town.[9]

The Canadian River furnished many a news item for the local newspapers and many strange sights for the townspeople. Once a freight train carrying cars of German emigrant household belongings and livestock fell into the sandy river bed. Immediately the heavily loaded cars began sinking into the quicksand so men in charge opened wide the car doors. Out flew chickens, ducks, and geese to make their way to the bank on the Bridgeport side of the river. Only the engine and coal car from the front end and the caboose from the rear were saved from this train. To this day the other cars with everything inside as well as the middle section of the bridge lie buried deep somewhere in the shifting sand of the Canadian riverbed.[10]

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8. This so-called Indian camp was one of ten Indian colonies established on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Reservation in 1886, for agricultural and educational purposes under the supervision of Capt. Jesse M. Lee, 9th U. S. Inf., as Acting Agent on the Reservation. These colonies were established at different locations on the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands, under new plans inaugurated for the reservation system as suggested by Capt. Lee. In 1885, leases for grazing cattle to cattlemen throughout the reservation were cancelled by Executive Order out of Washington, and the former Indian camps huddled near the Agency at Darlington were moved out, the Indians generally settling in the new communities in bands, many miles apart. The Cheyenne Colony on the Canadian River near Bridgeport was reported for its first year in 1886, consisting of 19 farms with 100 acres of sod broken and good crops raised. —Ed.

9. This information furnished by Mrs. Ben Snow. The Snows first saw Bridgeport as a tent city. They had a farm near the town, and lived in a one-room house. Later they had a store in Bridgeport and still later operated the telephone exchange. Mr. and Mrs. Snow are residents of Hinton but still retain their farm near Bridgeport.

10 Mrs. R. F. Hobbs, who lives in Hinton and is the widow of the late Dr. Hobbs, furnished this interesting story.

Although the river lay dormant most of the year it often went on a rampage during the stormy spring season. People used to come many miles to Bridgeport to see the muddy surging floodwaters as the river rolled dark, angry and bold from the west filling the wide sprawling riverbed full from bank to bank. Oftentimes the swift current brought along uprooted trees, drowned cattle and even housetops in its mad rush down-stream. Very often mail was held up for three of four days at a time whenever the river made the railroad bridge unsafe. Sometimes the current would be strong enough to take out one or more spans of the bridge.

The worst flood as far as property damages was concerned, was in 1904 but five people were drowned in the flood of 1914 which was the time when the surging waters washed away almost all of the railroad bridge. P. J. McCoy, one time station master at Geary, and seven others were standing on the north end of the bridge when the angry waters tore loose that section and carried it away downstream. McCoy was swept into a large cottonwood tree where he was forced to spend the night. Two men were rescued from an island in the river close to the Barbee farm six miles down stream. Doctors Hobbs and Smith were both called to give these men medical attention. Both men survived but days later the bodies of two dead men were found in the sand along the bank of the river near Union City, and the three other bodies were never found.[11]

So great was the danger around the depot this time that in the next two years tons and tons of huge rock boulders were hauled to Bridgeport from the west by the railroad company, and used to face the river bank alongside the depot. These rocks have been strong enough to hold the river in check at that point with no change in its channel for more than forty years.[12]

In 1902, the Choctaw Railroad Company built a line south from Enid through Bridgeport to Waurika, making Bridgeport a center not only for east and west travel but north and south as well. With this early development and good business one might readily ask, "What happened to the bustling busy town? Why did the place decrease instead of growing larger in size?"

Like many another pioneer town in history, Bridgeport became divided into two factions, and then "Mother Nature" played a hand in its affairs. People found that the drinking water on the west side of Bridgeport was clear and pure while that on the east side, where most of the business buildings had been erected, was

11. Mrs. Hobbs, also told of this incident and about the feud in the town.

12. This information was taken from Mrs. Wornstaff's files.

filled with gypsum crystals. Instead of sharing or trying to find a way of voting to bring the good water to the east side, a bitter feud developed.

The depot was on the west side of the town near the river but a long hill had to be climbed to reach the Post Office over on the east side. To get the mail distributed more conveniently business men of the west side contrived to have the Post Office moved one night during the dark hours. The men who were hired for the job were not interested in the Post Office; they thought only of the sizable amount of money they were being paid to get the equipment to a building on the west side. George Walker was Postmaster at that time.

A two-story brick building was erected hurriedly on the west side for a bank, first president of which was W. W. Waterman. The big three story frame hotel was also moved to a corner location on the west side.

Merchants of the east side became so embittered over the fast growing feud that many of them, in 1902, moved their buildings and took their business to Hinton, a new town about seven miles south of Bridgeport on the Choctaw Railroad. Little by little, year after year, Bridgeport instead of gaining in size and business kept losing its frontier prosperity. This was a disappointment to the Rock Island Railroad Company which had had hopes that this town would become a railway terminal.

When the privately owned toll bridge washed away, a ferry was used to convey traffic across the river at one dollar per car. In the early 1920's, another toll bridge, a swinging one called the Key Bridge, so named from the contractor, was constructed across the river giving Bridgeport some boost in business and a certain prominence because all east and west travel of a great part of the Nation passed over this bridge. But the boom was short-lived for Bridgeport became an isolated town in 1934 when U. S. Highway 66 was opened to the public. A modern bridge known as the William H. Murray Bridge and also free to the public was built downstream a few miles to the southeast of the toll bridge. The national highway running east and west and sometimes called the "Main Street of America" is located one mile south of Bridgeport.

However, the swinging bridge was left standing for several years. It was used occasionally by farmers who had interests in both Blaine and Caddo counties. In 1948, a brush fire burned the south approach of this little used bridge, and in 1952, it was sold to a salvage firm in Kansas City that wrecked the remaining part of the bridge and shipped away all the material.

Years before the bridge was sold the town had already lost its bank; later the large three story hotel was torn down and the material sold to a group of people who lived in Anadarko.[12] In 1944 the highschool was transferred to Hinton, and still later the grade children were included in the transfer. In 1945, the large brick gymnasium of which Bridgeport was so proud was sold to the highest bidder who wrecked the building and hauled it away.

During World War II, the railroad bridge at Bridgeport again became a point of national interest. For, many a train of soldiers crossed over this bridge passing by the station depot on their way to the West Coast.

Bridgeport established as a railroad shipping center has retained its usefulness throughout the years. Many trainloads of range cattle comprised the first shipments. The next big business was the shipping of walnut logs and stumps. These were shipped east to be made into furniture. With the coming of the settlers the shipments soon changed to cars of wheat, corn, hogs and poultry. During the 1930's and 1940's this section was known as a watermelon shipping point.

At the present time, the elevator built near the depot still services a large area around Bridgeport. Farmers unload their wheat at this elevator where it is shipped out for government storage.

Old-timers, people now in their eighties and nineties, who helped to build Bridgeport like to reminisce about the early life of the town. They like to tell about the time when Bridgeport honored Governor Haskell with a banquet.[13] This was during the years when Frank Carpenter served as State Representative. These people like to tell how James Kessler who worked as a clerk in the Owl Drug Store owned by Dr. Hobbs, later made a fortune in oil. They are equally proud of their younger people who selected the field of education as their profession.

Today, the town with a 1960 census count of one hundred thirty-nine population still has a city council thus maintaining its distinction as a city of the first class.[14] In a small, one room building Mrs. Lucile Heldermon serves as Postmaster. She has served the little town for twenty-two years. There is one small grocery

13. Mrs. A. F. Hobbs told this story, James Kessler worked for them. She also named ladies in their fifties as well as the younger generation who became teachers.

14 Information on Post Office, census and city council given by Mrs. Lucile Heldermon. All town records are kept in the office of her husband who writes insurance. They both confirm the fact that Bridgeport has always been and still is a city of the first class.

operated by John Mashaney. Instead of the Nazarene, the Baptist and United Evangelical churches of a former day, Bridgeport people attend their one Methodist church. These people each like to tell that their town's drinking water, which is tested every six months, is 98% pure.[15] The purest water, it is said, of any nearby town.

15. The bit of information about the test of the water was given by Melvin McCain, longtime resident of Bridgeport, who has many old newspapers on file.

IN DUGOUTS AND SOD HOUSES

*By Veda Giezentanner**

Hope of a better life led settlers to each land opening. Those who were fortunate enough to obtain a homestead had many hardships ahead before their hopes became reality.[1]

In temporary shelters the women began to make homes. These might consist of the wagon box set on the ground, only a brush roof supported by the boxes and barrels of their possessions or even a tent made of two sheets which soon blew away in the wind on the flat, almost treeless prairie. Some families shared one large tent pitched on the corners where the farms joined. In this way the head of the family could eat and sleep in the area which was on his land. But these shelters did not last long for the men began immediately to prove their claims. This included making improvements, and what could be more proof of intention to stay than a permanent home.

Because there was no lumber available and little money to buy it, if it had been near, the homesteader had to find a plentiful and cheap substitute. The land provided what was needed. An excavation was begun into the side of a hill, ravine, creek or slope facing south if possible. This was to become the dugout home for years to come. If well-built, this house would last for several years with little major maintenance. Earth was removed until the hole was the proper size. The size varied from eight to fourteen feet front to back and side to side, depending upon the length of the rail to be used for the ridge pole. Two stout poles were driven into the front for the doorfacing. Small logs or boards were fastened to the poles. Then the earth which had been removed was packed against this. Some dugouts had the front opening closed with

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* This article was produced during 1960 as a paper in a research project for an Oklahoma history class at the University of Oklahoma, taught by Dr. A. M. Gibson. Veda Giezentanner is the wife of the University Business Manager, Dud Giezentanner. She is a housewife and mother of three children, and descended from a pioneer family in Western Oklahoma. Her paper presented here is based largely on interviews with people who settled in this region.—Ed.

1 The most helpful and interesting source of reference material used in the preparation of this article was in the information contained in the collection of interviews with people who lived in Oklahoma in early days of settlement, found in "Indian and Pioneer Papers," Phillips Collection, Library of The University of Oklahoma (Norman) ; Vol. 12. pp. 65-70, 77-78; Vol. 21. pp. 344-347; Vol. 23 p. 49; Vol. 35, pp. 345, 253, 261-262, 284-285; Vol. 41, pp 257-258, 263, 267-272; Vol. 43, pp. 64, 69, 84-85, 91-93, 106, 114-118; Vol. 44, pp. 306-310; Vol. 48, p. 48; Vol. 58, pp. 449; Vol. 62, pp. 5-9; Vol. 77, pp. 57-59, 78, 82-92; Vol. 92. pp. 320.

Sod House in Western Oklahoma, early 1890's

pieces of sod. If there was to be a window, the framing was put in place as the time came. The roof was supported by a long pole placed across the top in the center of the structure. This was held in place by notched poles or simply fastened to the wall. Small logs, bushes or boards were nailed to the ridge pole. Then came grass and sod with earth packed between the pieces to fill the cracks. Especially at first before the grass had time to grow and hold the filler, the earth had to be replaced after each rain. Built in a natural runway for water the dugout often filled with water during a heavy rain. To keep the house dry inside, a trench was dug from the doorway to lower ground for drainage.

The doors were constructed of strips of wood nailed to two posts, one of which was purposely left long, to be inserted in holes drilled in the top and bottom of the opening. This allowed the door to swing as if it were on a hinge. The fastening might be nothing more than a strap of leather or rope. Locks were seldom used. At night a stout bar might be braced across the door. At other times the door would be nothing more than a quilt or skin. Windows were covered with a number of things. Oiled paper was the substitute for glass, letting in some light and keeping out cold and bugs. Cheese cloth was used for screening. Over this, some settlers used shutters constructed like doors; or again the closing might be a piece of canvas or an animal skin.

Sod houses were built of bricks of sod cut with a special plow. A piece of ground where the sod was thickest would be chosen and the plow would turn a furrow cutting through under the thick, tough roots of the prairie grass. For use in buildings, the furrows were carefully cut into strips four to eight inches thick and twelve to eighteen inches wide. These strips were then cut with a spade into blocks the desired length. Those to be laid lengthwise were usually three feet. The ones to be laid crosswise had to be cut twice the width of the other bricks. The average size of the sod house was sixteen by twenty feet. The pieces of sod were laid side by side in two rows around the outline of the house, leaving open the area for the doorway. The next row was laid on the first row, offsetting the joints. Every third or fourth row was laid crosswise to bind and strengthen the wall. The framing for the door and windows was placed in the proper space as construction progressed. The roof construction was the same as for the dugout.[2]

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[2] The following journals, letters and personal accounts in the Manuscripts Division, Library of The University of Oklahoma (Norman) give an excellent picture of all phases of life on the prairie, especially at the time of the land openings in Oklahoma; G. D. Borium Collection; May Choate Collection; Mrs. S. F. Ducum Collection; Mrs. Edna Hatfield Collection; Ann Brisky Hertzog Collection; Anna Hollem Collection; Mrs. W. S. Jarboe Collection; Harry Parker Collection; S. P. Ross Collection; also in *Clinton Daily News*. "History of Custer and Washita Counties," 1883-1937 (1937).

The half dugout was a combination of the dugout and the sod house, providing the answer for the homesteader who did not have a bank steep enough for the true dugout or who did not wish to spend time in building a sod house. The lower part was a dugout and the upper part was of sod.

The floors of these dwellings were packed earth. At the end of a month the floor was almost as smooth and as hard as oak. It could be swept and even mopped. Rugs, made of rags and braided by the homemaker, covered many of these. Wooden floors were rarely seen unless the house was built over a cellar. When floors were necessary, green wood was often used and as it warped easily, the floors were seldom even. This created more problems for the homemaker. An uneven floor might cause falls, and the cracks did let in wind. With the wind came dust and cold, making it difficult to keep the home clean and warm.

The inside walls of the homes were finished in many ways. Some were evened with an ax or shovel until they were smooth enough to be plastered with a mixture of clay and ashes. Whitewash, applied to this smooth finish, lightened the dark interior and made the rooms more cheerful. Some people papered the walls with any available material, advertisements, pages of catalogs, newspapers and in a few cases even personal letters. Muslin and canvas covered some walls and ceilings to catch dirt that might fall from the roof onto the table, bed and other furnishings. Partitions were blankets or canvas tacked to the ridge pole, or roof supports.

The amount of water which leaked in during wet weather depended upon the skill of the builder. Many times it was necessary to dry all articles in the home after a rain. One woman told of cooking pancakes for her family while a child held an umbrella over her.[3]

These earth homes were cool in summer and easy to heat in winter. Fireplaces, built of sod, would not burn and served for heating and cooking. In some cases there might be a stove. The most common type was the "Topsy stove," a metal box with two holes on top, covered with lids. These openings allowed the fuel to be placed inside and the lids, replaced, held the cooking utensils. The oven was in the stove pipe. The temperature was controlled by the amount of fuel used in the stove. The stove pipe was a land-

[3] These interviews were helpful sources of material about the day to day happenings of the dugout and sod house period in preparing this article: Homer A. Brown, Marlow, Okla. (Feb. and Mar., 1960); Mrs. Homer A. Brown, Marlow, Okla., (Feb. and Mar. 1960); Mrs. Loie Brown; Custer, Okla., (Apr. 8, 1960); William F. Brown, Marlow, Okla., (1950-1957); Frank Graves, Custer, Okla. (Apr. 8, 1960); Mrs. Orvil Howard, Custer, Okla. (Apr. 8, 1960); Mrs. P. Boyd Smith, Los Angeles, Calif. (Mar. 19-20, 1960); Bryce Timmons, Norman, Okla. (Apr. 28, 1960).

mark to guide travelers to the homesite for after a few months the sod roof would be covered with grass, wild flowers and weeds, blending so well with the countryside that it was difficult to find the dwelling. Many times people, livestock or teams pulling wagons would walk across the top of a dugout. In the summer months the women often cooked outside over a trench fire. The trench was just wide enough to hold the dutch oven, skillet and coffee pot.

Again, the lack of wood forced the people to find a substitute, this time for fuel. Buffalo and cow chips solved the problem. They were gathered and stacked like cord wood. On trips, a sack was carried, and a game of "I Spy" was played by the children. Cattle drives were allowed to stop on the land of farmers just for the chips they left. Twists of prairie grass burned nicely but quickly. The grass would be gathered and twisted into long ropes, then cut in the correct size for the stove or fireplace. Corn and corn cobs made a good fire and in the years when corn could not be sold profitably, it was burned. Sunflower stalks made good fuel. One firm advertised seeds for one acre, guaranteed to produce twelve cords, enough for all winter.

Furnishings were simple and were made from the things at hand. The table might be anything from a box or barrel to a log split and resting on pegs. Kegs and boxes were the chairs. Beds varied from pallets on the floor or table to logs driven into the walls and floor to support a frame for the feather, grass or cornshucks tick. Because space was so limited, the beds were often taken outside during the day to make room for the table and chairs. Storage was provided by pegs, shelves and boxes nailed to the walls.

By the time the land could be prepared, it was often too late for planting crops. Gardens could be planted and this was the first job undertaken after shelter was provided. Gardens consisted of onions, potatoes, carrots, pumpkins, watermelons, cantaloupes, peas, beans, corn, cabbage and lettuce. Settlers often did not have time nor materials to fence the garden plots. In the early years, many gardens were destroyed by wild animals, or even the farmers' own livestock. Potato bugs, grasshoppers and green bugs damaged gardens, too. Until gardens were producing, the need for green foods was filled by wild greens, including sheep sorrel, wild onions, watercress and wild lettuce. Plums, grapes and berries grew in some parts and furnished the juice and fruit for jellies and preserves. "Poor Man Preserves" were made using sorghum instead of sugar which was too scarce and too expensive.

Game, including prairie chicken, quail, antelope, turkey, raccoon, rabbit and "possum" was plentiful. The "possum" was fat, and the tallow could be used in cooking and making candles. One guest from the east insisted on knowing what his hostess had

used to bake such tasty biscuits. He was not very happy when he was told that the shortening was from a raccoon killed a few days earlier.

Measurements for recipes were not very exact and included such statements as a handful, a teacup heaped high, one pie plate full, a chunk of butter the size of a thumb or an egg or a fist. One recipe for pickles called for one gallon of whiskey, one handful of salt, a pint of sorghum and nine gallons of water. The cucumbers were added and were said to remain crisp until all were used. To make grape soup, the grapes were cooked and strained. The pulp was then sweetened and heated to boiling. Dumplings were added and cooked until tender.

Soap was made with lye and fats. The wood ashes were saved all year and collected in a hopper. Water was poured through the ashes and the liquid which drained out was the lye. All fats had been saved in another container, and these were added to the lye and boiled until the brew would dissolve the fuzz on a chicken feather with which it was tested. This was ready to be stored and used as soft soap. To make hard soap it was necessary to add salt and continue boiling. At the proper time it was removed and poured into shallow pans lined with cloth. When it had cooled the hardened mass was removed from the pan, the cloth peeled off, the bars cut and stored.

Candles were made at home, too. Strings and strips of cloth were dipped again and again in melted tallow. The tallow would harden between dippings and a coating was built up, eventually forming a candle. This was a tedious process, and candle molds were borrowed often. Using molds, the melted tallow was poured one time over the wicks and allowed to harden.

Water from boiled potatoes was used in making bread and as starch for clothes. Homemakers made their own yeast with flour, salt, sugar and water. These ingredients were mixed and set aside until the yeast action started. In making bread, some of the dough was kept to furnish a start the next time. Some women shared yeast "starts," especially if one was famous for her bread.

Food preservation was a difficult chore for there were few jars, cans or bottles. The solder on tin cans would be melted carefully with hot coals to allow the can to be used again. Meats were smoked, dried, canned or fried and placed in stone jars, covered with melted lard and stored in the cellar. If there was no cellar for storing vegetables, they would be placed in a pit lined with straw and covered with earth. In the first years, some women went to surrounding states to can fruits since the trees which they had planted were too young to bear. The canned foods would be stored in the cellar and carefully protected. In prolonged cold spells hot

coals would be carried to the cellar to keep the foods from freezing. Butter, milk and eggs were also kept in the cellar which might be some distance from the house. The items had to be brought to the table before each meal and returned after each meal. This meant many trips for the cook. Another method used to keep items cool and sweet was to hang them in the well or cistern but this too had drawbacks. When water was needed, it was necessary to remove the foods and replace them after the water was drawn.

Wells, food cellars and cisterns had other uses besides the basic one for which they were built. They served as shelters when there were tornadoes and prairie fires. Prairie fires were watched for and particularly dreaded. Often they could be seen for days in advance and preparations made for protection. Stock was rounded up and removed to a safe place. Often this would be the dugout or sod house. Any creek or river would do if it had sufficient water in it and if the animals could be kept there. Burning an area on which to stay while the fire passed on either side saved many lives. A furrow could be plowed around an area and the area might be spared. The only other methods considered satisfactory in fighting the fires were wet sacks or brooms to beat out the side fires, or dragging a dead animal along the fire line.

Water, like lumber, was a scarce item. Not many farms had rivers, creeks or springs. Supply and storage were major problems. A water barrel was an essential item. It was a familiar sight at all homes. The barrel caught and stored water when it rained. It was carried on a sled to haul water from any nearby source. Buffalo wallows, the depressions which the buffalo had made while fighting flies, were short term reservoirs after a rain but the water was too warm in summer for drinking and soon evaporated in the hot dry weather. Everything was utilized for water storage, tubs, pots, pans and hollow logs. Wells and cisterns were dug as soon as possible. No pumps were used and the water bucket was raised and lowered by hand.

If the source of water was far, on wash day the women would take the washing to the water. Near the creeks and rivers, they could find wood to build fires under the boilers, and could do the washing there where the wood and water were close. The clothes were rubbed on a washboard, boiled, rinsed and spread on the bushes and grass to dry.

Sewing took much of the homemakers time. It was usually done by hand but if someone in the neighborhood had a sewing machine, some work might be done in exchange for the use of the machine. Ironing, canning and cooking were the jobs most often done in return. Women's dresses required ten to fifteen yards of calico or muslin. These were made with full skirts, high necks and

long sleeves. It took seven yards of material for each of the two petticoats worn. Muslin cost about twelve cents a yard and calico was five cents a yard. A new baby would wear a band and diaper made from a feed sack, a flannel shirt, a petticoat and a calico overdress, the same width top and bottom with a drawstring at each end and slits for armholes.

At first there were no regularly scheduled freight routes, or lines. All supplies were brought in by individuals, and any settler who had a team and wagon usually did some freighting. Taking lists of supplies needed by neighbors, several men and wagons would travel to the nearest railroad and do the shopping for the whole community. The length of time spent on the trip varied according to the time of year and the condition of the rivers to be forded. When the rivers were up, it often meant several days delay until the waters subsided enough to permit passage. If a wagon became stuck, several teams would be harnessed together to free it. If this failed, the supplies must be unloaded and carried to the bank. At times it was necessary to dismantle the wagon, carry it to shore, re-assemble it and reload it before the trip could be resumed.

To obtain cash some men took jobs away from home, going as far away as surrounding states. The women and children were left on the homestead to do the work and tend the livestock. These were lonely, frightening times for there were panthers and wolves roaming the countryside. Indian uprisings were feared and rumored but seldom materialized. Those men who could find work near by came home at night and then with their wives, they would do the plowing, planting or harvesting on their own land. To have their children near, the parents would make a pallet for them in the field near a cornshock or hay stack while they did the work.

Women were traditionally entitled to the money from the butter and eggs sold. It was the only money to which they could look forward unless they boarded or did the laundry for a bachelor or homesteader whose family had not arrived.

Cattle and buffalo bones paid well in cash. They were collected and taken to the railroad when a freighter went for supplies. The bones were shipped east and used to make fertilizer.

At first mail service depended upon anyone who was going to the post office many miles away. The mail would be collected for several families and left with one neighbor until someone came for it. This resulted in stations being established in the homes of some of the settlers. One corner of the dugout or soddy became the postoffice. The salary was twenty dollars a quarter. Mail was basically catalogs, newspapers and a few personal letters.

Centipedes, scorpions and bedbugs were pests the homemakers had to fight. They lived in the sod used in the buildings and invaded the homes. Snakes were a menace, too. They were often found in the houses and even in the beds. One mother heard a rattlesnake in the dugout but could not locate it. She took the baby outside and put him in the wagon. Then she took a mother hen with some baby chicks inside and tied her to the table leg. When the snake came out to eat the chickens, the woman killed it.

Neighbors always helped when there was a death in a family. Wagon boxes and cupboards were donated for the coffin. It was painted with shoe polish or lamp soot and lined with muslin. Funerals were held the day of the death if possible and were conducted by someone chosen by the family, if a preacher could not be reached. If it was necessary to wait until the next day, friends would sit with the body during the night. When ice was available, the body would be packed in it and the face covered with a cloth dampened in vinegar. Land for a cemetery was usually donated by a homesteader on a corner of his claim.

Settlers had some problems in keeping their livestock. Corrals near the barn were fenced with sod but pasture fencing was in the future. Children had the job of herding the cows and horses to keep them from straying. When cattle drives came through the country, the cows of the settlers sometimes became mixed with the herd and were never separated again. But at times these cattle drives were responsible for the start of a herd for a homesteader. The cowboys would leave cows and calves which they felt were too weak to continue the trip.

Holidays were times of special joy to the children. Easter eggs were colored and the bunny eagerly awaited. The dyes for the eggs were made from the skins of red onions, walnut shells and berries. A box was propped over a nest prepared for the eggs and placed in the yard where it could be seen the first thing in the morning. If the box was resting flat on the ground, it meant the bunny had arrived. The box also protected the eggs from animals.

There were not many evergreens to be used for Christmas trees. The bare branches of other trees were covered with cotton and decorated with strings of cranberries, popcorn and china berries. Candles were the lights. If there was no tree, the table would be set for breakfast, and Santa Claus would place the presents in the plates. Sugar was saved for weeks to be sure that there would be cookies and candies on Christmas day.

For a wedding, ferns and wild flowers decorated the dugouts and sod houses. Only a few people could take part in the ceremony because the space was so limited, but any number of people could take part in the charivari. This celebration took place a few

nights after the wedding. Friends of the couple would assemble outside the home of the bride and groom, setting off fireworks, banging kettles, blowing horns and firing guns. The noise and hilarity would last until the couple appeared and served refreshments.

This would be the start of another home in the new territory, continuing the hopes and dreams of a hardy people. They had little material wealth but used the resources of the land to build a better life for themselves and the thousands who would follow.

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A PIONEER FAMILY IN OLD GREER COUNTY

By Adelia Clifton *

"When I recall the days we traveled in the two covered wagons, the nights we slept in the open, under the stars twinkling from a black velvet sky, the awakening at early dawn, the care of the sheep on the range, the home life in the dugout, I wonder what richer experiences I could have had in any other way of living that could have given me a greater love of the out-of-doors, an appreciation of Nature, flowers and bird songs that have meant riches untold. The greatest gift is a love for the rich heritage of Oklahoma as a State and the people who have crowned its history with character and purpose equal to that of any other state in the Union." [1]

The Chitwood Family

My father, John William Chitwood, was born in southwest Missouri, on February 11, 1857. His father and mother being victims of the War Between the States, he was being reared by an Uncle and Aunt, John W. and Tennessee Chitwood. Because of the ravages of the great War, loss of life and property, and disruption of life as they had known it, the family moved to Bosque County, Texas, soon after the close in 1865.

My mother, Mary L. Robinson, was born February 14, 1853, near Verona, Mississippi. Her family having suffered from losses in the War in this "hot-bed" of the South, migrated to Bosque County, Texas. The two pioneering families, the Chitwoods and the Robinsons, must have settled near each other for sheep raising was the means of living in those early days out in what was known then as the free country and the western plains. It was here that our parents, John William Chitwood and Mary L. Robinson, met, had their romance and were married in 1879.

Soon after their marriage, they moved over to Hamilton County, Texas, where they engaged in sheep raising, moving the flocks from one grazing place to another. Here their seven children were born, five sons and two daughters.

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* An original manuscript of notes on her family and life in old Greer County in Southwestern Oklahoma by Maggie Chitwood Kilpatrick, was the basis of this contribution, adapted and written by Adelia Clifton for publication in *The Chronicles*. Miss Clifton has long been known as one of Oklahoma's gifted poets, and as an active member of the Oklahoma State Poetry Society since its organization. She served as teacher of English for many years in Oklahoma City highschools, and is Historian and honored member of Delta Kappa Gamma, a national women teachers' fraternity. Miss Clifton lives in retirement at the age of ninty-one years in her own home in Oklahoma City. She is in demand for her excellent programs and lectures on great poems in English literature, and recently prepared this article for *The Chronicles* at the request of her friend, Mrs. Kilpatrick of Oklahoma City.—Ed.

[1] Adelia Clifton expressing the sentiment of Maggie Chitwood Kilpatrick who has given this account of the Chitwood family.

THE CHITWOOD CHILDREN

Back Row: left to right—Tom (deceased), Jim (deceased), Ed.
Front Row: (left to right)—Luther (deceased) Maggie, Lillian and John.

Leaving Hico, Hamilton County, June 10, 1895, the family of nine and a hired man, traveling in a caravan of two covered wagons, and driving the flocks slowly to allow the sheep to graze along the way to southwestern Oklahoma. We camped in the open, cooked by camp fires and made our beds on the open prairie. We had tents to put up in bad weather.

The two older boys and the hired man drove the 750 head of sheep, traveling 7 or 8 miles a day. Our mother drove one wagon team and an older brother drove the other. We four younger children rode with him or our mother. Our father rode ahead of the caravan on horseback each day, to select suitable camping places.

We arrived in Greer County, Texas, which is now Harmon County, Oklahoma, on August 18, 1895. We had traveled a little more than 300 miles in 3 months and 10 days.

Since there were no roads, only a few wagon tracks here and there across the prairie, the trails were winding because those traveling before us had tried to find places where the streams could be forded. Three different times we had to lie over a few days to wait for the high water to subside so that a stream could be forded. Just south of Seymour, Texas, we had to wait for a week for a bridge across the Brazos river to be repaired. One end of the bridge had been inundated. On reaching the Wichita River, twenty-five miles farther north where there was no bridge, and the river was deep, we had to camp a week waiting for the high water to run down.

While we were waiting here, our father met a man who was well trained in the ways of sheep, and he offered to help him swim the sheep across the river, with the aid of his son and another helper. At the appointed time, the man selected a place where a sand bar was wide and the water shallow at its edge, but which gradually got deeper until it was not more than waist deep and not more than twenty yards across the stream. First the men carried a dozen sheep across in their arms, and one of the boys kept these herded together on the bank, close to the water's edge in view of the rest of the flocks waiting to cross. Then the men and helpers got the main herd running around in circles, and crowded them closer and closer to the water's edge. Then each man grabbed a sheep and started wading fast across the river when the herd began following. In twenty minutes, they were all across without the loss of a single animal. The danger that comes to sheep fording a stream is the wool gets wet and becomes too heavy for the sheep to carry. Then they bog down. After all the sheep were on the other side of the river, the wagons were driven across, but the water came nearly up to the wagon beds.

The site of our camp is now covered by Lake Kemp, a popu-

The Chitwood Home, old dugout built in 1895. Still standing.

lar fishing and boating resort for people living in Southwestern Oklahoma and in Texas.

Our first camping place after arriving in Greer County on August 18, 1895, was about eight miles north of the site of the present city of Hollis, Oklahoma. After a few days, we moved on north to have a better grazing range for the sheep. This was about twenty-one miles north of the present site of Hollis. It was here that our dugout was made. It still stands in as good condition as it was then when first built in 1895.[2] First the ground was laid off 24 feet by 12 feet. The sod removed and then earth excavated to the depth of the room desired, deep enough for a man to stand upright without touching his head to the ceiling. Then logs—tree trunks—were placed along the four sides of this opening. A strong tree trunk was placed across the center, this being elevated so as to form a "comb" for the roofing. Boughs of trees were laid extending from the end of the dugout and resting on this center log. After this was made safe and secure, then earth was laid over the boughs to make a roof to avoid leaks if possible. There was one entrance only. Rooms could be curtained off by hanging quilts from the beam in the ceiling.

Our flock of sheep increased until there were 2,000. We sold mutton in the fall and wool in the spring at Quanah, Texas, our nearest market. Our income from sheep raising thus came twice a year.

We soon learned that there were bad men coming into the life of our free country, where homesteaders had proved good neighbors, tried and true on many occasions. Our father discovered one time on his return from market that he was being followed by robbers. Late in the night our dog chained near the dugout door kept up a whining, and voices could be heard calling and whistling in low tones to lure him away from the door. Our father kept watch all night as he sat on the door steps holding a shotgun across his lap. There was only one entrance so he alone could easily protect us.

Herding the flocks was an easy and enjoyable task, but here again we found danger and that was from rattlesnakes that abounded in this country. My brothers killed about twenty-five every summer. Once when my younger brother and I were helping herd the sheep, we killed a large rattler and dragged it home to show our prize. Our father was concerned about this and said, with his usual threat, he would "skin us alive" if we ever did that

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[2] The old dugout is on the original 160 acres (west ½ of N. E. ¼ and East ½ of N. W. ¼, Sec. 19 T. 6 N., R. 25 W.) in present Harmon County, where J. W. Chitwood first camped in 1895, then staked as a claim in 1896 and filed as a claim in 1897. Later he purchased 360 acres adjoining, which made a aotal of 520 acres in his tract in Harmon County.

(Photo taken 1898)

Miss Sarah Adams, age eighteen years, our first teacher.

again. The bite of a rattler was deadly poisonous, and since we were not near enough to medical help, it was a dangerous thing for children to try to fight rattlesnakes.

When the summer heat became almost unbearable in the dugout, we made brush arbors and dragged our beds outside the dugout to sleep in the open at night. Our mattresses were on low frames that could be used in the wagon while we were traveling, or dragged out and placed under the brush arbors which were kept in readiness outside the dugout. Many times we heard the hoot of the great owl as we dropped off to sleep, and were awakened at dawn by the songs of mocking birds and the chattering of scissortails.

My older brothers herded the main flocks of sheep, and in the spring when grass came out lush and green, the flocks would range several miles away, but the boys would bring them back at night to be safely penned.

Each spring there would be a few sheep that had not wintered well. These were called "scalawags." It was the job of a younger brother and myself to tend the scalawag bunch near home, until they were able to keep up with the main herd. This job pleased me more than any other work that I had to do.

After much of the land in that section of the territory had been homesteaded, there was not enough grazing for raising sheep. It was then that our father sold the herd, and began farming. Our first house was built in the fall of 1900, with the lumber hauled from Quanah, Texas, a distance of fifty-five miles. Six wagons were used to get all the lumber needed and hauled in one trip. Soon after crossing Red River on the homeward trip, it started raining. The roads became so muddy that three of the wagons had to be left and the drivers had to double the teams on the other three in order to pull them over to the sand hills south of Salt Fork. The next day the men went back to get the three wagons left behind, and found one bogged nearly hub deep in the mud. A prankster had come along, and had taken a long rope left in one of the wagons, weaving it back and forth through the spokes of the front and rear wheels, then tying the ends in a hard knot. He had pulled the brake over as far as it would go, then wired it. All this done, he wrote on the side of the wagon, "I'll be d..... if you can get loose."

The first school we attended was in the summer of 1898. It was called a subscription school, with about fifteen pupils taught by Miss Sara Adams.

The school house was a dugout, made by excavating a large opening in the side of a hill, deep enough to have the entrance on a level with the ground outside. Logs were laid across the opening

to form one of the end walls in the dugout room, with a doorway left in this log wall. The roof was of poles laid and extending from both the end walls, to rest on a log lying on the side walls as a support in the ceiling, at the center of the room. Brush of tree branches and vines was laid over the poles, and earth was spread on top to keep out the heat and the rain. An arbor was built like a porch roof in front of the doorway to shield the inside from rain and bright sunlight. The roof was a fine place on top for snakes to spread themselves out for a good sunning, and with centipedes, spiders and other denizens of the Plains found a hiding place in the brush inside the roof. One day John Chitwood pointed to the roof above, and said, in a very calm tone of voice, "Miss Sara, there's a snake over your head!" And, sure enough, there was a little snake wiggling around in the brush. We recall that our Miss Sara lost no time in moving away from under that part of the ceiling.

We had to walk one and a half miles to this school. Miss Sara rode horseback more than two miles from the home of a family with whom she had a room and board.[3]

Later, when more people had homesteaded and enrollment in school increased, a small one-room school house was built. A literary society was organized to meet every other Saturday night, which proved a great pleasure as it filled a social need for neighbor relations and a gathering place to hear about and participate in the activities of the territory now growing and increasing in power.[4]

When we first settled in our new home, our mail was addressed to Greer County, Texas, later to Greer County, Oklahoma Territory and finally to Harmon County in the state of Oklahoma. My youngest brother, John, has received his mail at the same post office, Vinson, Oklahoma, for sixty-five years where he served as postmaster for seventeen years, except one year during World War I when he was in the A.E.F. "Somewhere in France."[5]

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3 Sara Adams is now the widow of H. T. Denton, of Hollis, formerly a senator from Harmon County.

4 The programs consisted of recitations, dialogues and debates. Songs learned by the older members back in their childhood days were sung. One song—the words ring in my ears after more than fifty-odd years, is "In the Days of Forty-Nine," with Ben Kizer's nasal tone still reverberating:

"In the days of old
When we dug out the gold,
In the days of forty-nine."

5 My sister Lillian, Mrs. J. H. Francis, lives in Fort Worth, Texas and has three children. I, Maggie Chitwood Kilpatrick, Oklahoma City, have one son, Earl B. Kilpatrick, Ph.D., who is teaching in Southeastern State College at Durant, Oklahoma. Brother Edward M. Chitwood, living in Oakland, California, is now retired, after having served the General Electric Company of that city thirty-five years.

SARAH ANN HARLAN: FROM HER MEMOIRS OF LIFE IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

By Muriel H. Wright

Here is the story of a remarkable woman, Sarah Ann Harlan, who has left a fascinating account of her life in Oklahoma when it was still a part of the old South. Her own warm heart, quaint humor and abiding interest in life together with her intuition and fine memory make her own story priceless in telling the history of her times.

Sarah Ann, born in 1829, the daughter of Sampson and Sophia Braschier Moncrief, spent her childhood on the family plantation in the Pearl River region near the Alabama-Mississippi state line. She married first Erasmus Bryant Hawkins, in her nineteenth year. The young couple came west in 1850, under the Government's Indian emigration program that had been continued for many years, in the removal of the Choctaws from their old homeland east of the Mississippi to the Indian Territory. It was through her mother's family of Choctaw Indian descent that Sarah Ann and her husband as an inter-married citizen had the right to live in the new Choctaw Nation West. Their first home in the West was near Skullyville, the location of the Choctaw Agency about fourteen miles west of the site of old Fort Smith, Arkansas, at the Indian Territory line.

A few years after her first husband died, Sarah Ann married Aaron Harlan who had business interests at Tishomingo, the new capital of the Chickasaw Nation in 1856. With her second marriage, she had eight children to mother, her own little daughter and son and her husband's six children by his first marriage. The Harlan's were counted among the prosperous mixed-blood Indian families who as slaveholders made their living through cattle raising and farming. Aaron Harlan was the Government contractor to supply beef, corn and hay to Forts Arbuckle, Cobb and Washita on this southwestern frontier of the Indian Territory. During the Civil War, he served as forage master in the Confederate Army, the forage supplies generally stored at Boggy Depot, a garrisoned outpost and main Confederate commissary depot north of Texas, in this country. A few years after the Civil War, the Harlans built a home[1] in the new town of Caddo on the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad which was under construction and completed its line through eastern Indian Territory to Texas from 1870 to 1872.

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[1] The Harlan home at Caddo is remembered as a large white dwelling that stood back in a yard shaded by several big trees.

The archway over the gate of the cemetery at Caddo today, bears this inscription: "1873—*Gethsemane*—1923."[2] In the old part of the burial grounds, there are two graves side by side, marked by plain marble headstones, long forgotten. One of the markers bears the Masonic seal at the top and the inscription: "Aaron Harlan—Born: Dec. 18, 1811. Died April 3, 1876." The other stone reads: "The Mother of Caddo—Sarah Ann Harlan, Born Jan. 28, 1828. Died Dec. 14, 1926," and under these words is the emblem of the Eastern Star.[3]

The original, typewritten copy of Mrs. Harlan's *Memoirs* has a pencilled note at the top of the first page: "Biography of Sarah Ann Harlan—age 84—written by dictation 1913 for Julia V. Underwood." Mrs. Harlan's great-granddaughter, Vermelle Robberson,[4] daughter of the late Mrs. Julia V. Underwood, has been generous in contributing the original manuscript of the *Memoirs* for publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Along with this original manuscript are some notes on their family genealogy, some old photographs and a few newspaper clippings relating to Mrs. Harlan's last years, all of which are the sources for some of the notes in presenting her biography. The original manuscript covers a total of 114 pages, 77 of which have been selected to appear in *The Chronicles* as the most charming portion of Sarah Ann Harlan's own story and an unpublished chapter in the history of one hundred years ago. Since this portion is too long for one number of *The Chronicles,* the 77 pages have been divided, the first part appearing here in the summer number (1961), and the second part planned for the autumn.

The Editor wishes to make grateful acknowledgement to Bernice Norman Crockett [5] of Durant, for her assistance in locating some vital statistics and in making a number of trips to Caddo to interview some early day citizens of the town for data needed to complete this story for *The Chronicles.*

The Memoirs

I, Sarah Ann Moncrief, was born in Sumter County, Ala-

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[2] Judge Bolan of Caddo has reported that the date "1873" was that of the founding of the "Gethsemane Cemetery"; and the "1913," was the date that the Civic Club of Caddo took over the care of the cemetery.

[3] Mrs. Harlan's birthdate on her grave stone, "Jan. 28, 1828," is an error from that given in her *Memoirs* "Jan. 30th, 1829." The latter date should be correct since it was written at her dictation, and undoubtedly read carefully at the time by her granddaughter, Mrs. Julia V. Underwood.

[4] Mrs. P. B. Robberson. Mrs. Robberson has long been a resident of Oklahoma City where her husband, the late Mr. P. B. Robberson, was a member of the well-known Robberson Steel Company.

[5] Dr. Bernice Norman, Head of the Department of Health, Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma, has contributed articles to *The Chronicles.*

bama, Jan. 30th, in the year 1829. My father, Sampson Moncrief knew very little about his family, except that his father was French and his mother, English. He was left an orphan while still a boy, and was under the care of a man named Shipley, who had a large plantation in Georgia.

I think my father must have been apprenticed to this man, perhaps before his father's death. My father owned one slave, a man named Tom, a tall slender Negro, who was devoted to him. He worked for Mr. Shipley, too, and laid up the money for his master to use when he should be twenty-one, and free to leave the plantation. Tom was the best man I ever knew. He was all white but his skin. I remember him very well. He was the most respected man on our plantation, after my father, when I was a child. No telling how long that old darkey would have lived if he had not fallen off the platform at the gin-house.

My father and Tom worked hard for Mr. Shipley, and my father was not allowed a day's schooling.

The day my father was twenty-one, Tom took him and the money he had saved, and they walked to Louisiana, then the *new* country, where there was a chance to make money. Here Tom insisted that my father must go to school in order to learn to count money, and to read and write. So he studied for six months, while Tom worked for both, and was the banker.

Tom did not like Louisiana, so they went to Mississippi, and took up land on Pearl River. Mississippi and Alabama were one territory in those days, belonging to the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

While he was in Louisiana, my father had met Sophia Braschier, and married her. Her mother, Susan Vaughan, was one half Choctaw, and her father, Zedic Braschier, was Highland Scotch. You see how it came about that they could take up land on Pearl River. It was Sophia Braschier's Choctaw land.

On this plantation I spent my childhood days. Some were very pleasant; some, we as children thought, not pleasant. We were quite a large family of children. Two brothers younger than myself and I clanned together. Our greatest pleasure was to hunt and fish. Sometimes we came in with quite a lot of game. My mother did not approve of my taking those hunting expeditions; but when my brothers would call me, I was so fond of outdoor pleasures that I was always ready to slip off and go. Then upon my return, my mother would chastise me for it. Still, in a few days the same old inclination would possess me, and off we would go on our wild hunts. I have thought since that in this my Indian blood cropped out. I always have been a lover of outdoor life.

My parents became great land owners, and owned many, many slaves. Mother thought, with the wealth they had, that it was imprudent for her daughter to roam the woods.

Our schooling facilities were very poor. In those days and in that part of Mississippi it was a very rare thing to see what you might call a school house. Our schools were all taught by subscription. We would start in for a good time thinking now we were going to get an education, would go, perhaps, three months. The pay was so little that the teacher would say he could not meet expenses, and would have to abandon it; then we were without instruction for a year and sometimes for two years. When another teacher would come in, we were all animation and ready for school. I would flatter myself, now, by thinking that I was going to be a great woman, finely educated; but my hopes would soon be shattered again.

Newspapers in those days were like New Year's Day: they were hailed with great joy. Libraries were not known. Had we only possessed the advantages of this day, we could have gained much that we have lost. I, being among the older children, was put to the task of riding over the farm, when my father was not able to go, to look after the slaves and see how their work was progressing. I liked this business; was always eager to start out right after eating breakfast. The slaves loved me and always hailed me with joy when I came riding over the farm. I would weigh cotton at night with the Negroes until nine or ten o'clock. All those weights were carried to my father on a slate. The Negroes loved me so, and I was always careful not to deceive them in anything. They would often tie up sacks of dirt and put in the baskets of cotton to make it weigh heavy. I knew what my father would do; consequently, I would dive into the baskets, find the dirt, and tell them I could not do that, that my God was looking at me. They would plead sometimes to let it go; still, I persisted in giving correct weights. The Negroes never got mad with me. When carrying weights to my father, I would make it as easy as I could for them, and say "Father, they were in such a bad place and had to walk over so much ground and get so little cotton," which would be true. My father, being of such a high temper, could seldom keep an overseer more than three months in the year; so, you see, when he was not able to go himself out on the farm, I was the boy. My brothers all being younger, I had to fill the place. When we were through weighing cotton, two Negroes would cross their hands, making a basket, and set me on it and carry me to the house. Of course my father was not as easy on the Negroes as I was. That was my education.

If my father had been a poor man I would have had kinder feelings toward him in regard to my education. But as he himself

never had had six months schooling, but had educated himself, he thought his children ought to do the same. He did not fail to educate us in making money, but he failed to make us love the work. He gave us material advantages, but he seemed not to understand how we longed to study; and not having books and libraries to go to, we all grew up with very little education. I would often say to my father, "I would rather have an education than to have all the Negroes and lands you possess." And to this day I hold a grudge against my father for not giving me these advantages. As I have said, had he been a poor man I would think it was all right. Don't understand me to say that he was stingy; he was not a stingy man except in the all important thing of an education. We had everything else that heart could wish and that money could buy.

We were a happy, joyous family of ten children. We would summer at the Sulphur Springs, Alabama, and enjoy all the pleasures of a rambling life. One time we were going out to our summer home, and, in traveling a military road, all at once earth gave way and down went one wagon into a great hole which proved to be a living spring of water. Away we jumped from the carriage to see this great fountain of water. We had a little pet dog along. We were anxious for a drink of water and my mother said, "He is a dumb brute, we will try the water on the dog and if it doesn't kill him then we will drink." The dog being very thirsty, drank quite a quantity of it, then we drank and camped here for a day or two; but soon found that it had no mineral, so went on to our summer home. We did not like this summer home much; we would rather be on the farm with the Negroes.

When time came to return to the plantation we would be all ready to go and glad to get back. My father would leave an overseer in charge of the plantation. Upon our return he would find much work left undone and get displeased with the overseer. Father was a very, very neat farmer; so he would discharge the overseer and again take the reins himself. Everything was carried on very systematically on the farm. Never was there an hour's difference in the time of meals.

About this time a great many farmers settled near us, with large flocks of Negroes and they would take note of how my father farmed, and would often say that there was little grass on old man Moncrief's farm. About this time the Indians began to emigrate west. Those were sad days for us; we would weep as though they were going to be buried. We hated to give them up for the pale faces who were to be our neighbors. We liked them very well; still, we knew that they were anxious to possess themselves of our rich lands. But my father being such an

expert farmer, and devoting all his time to it, paid no attention to the avarice of the pale face; but continued to add acre after acre to his farm.

Those were great times with us. We had nets which we would set for quail. Then on our horses we would get, off we would go for the bevy of quail and drive them into the net. This was where a great deal of our pleasure came in, and it was cut off by the pale face coming in and fencing up the lands.

I commenced on my father again for an education. An old friend of my father's, a Mr. Carson, offered to take my sister and me on very low terms. My father agreed, provided that at the end of three months, if we did not progress as he thought we should, we should stop. We went only a very short time. This was in the town of Demopolis (Alabama).

I had only gone a few weeks when, crossing the street one day I was knocked down by lightning, and knew nothing for weeks. So my education stopped at that point. I was an invalid then for well on to a year, and to this day I am afraid of lightning.

About this time, people were scrambling from east and south into our country, and most of them stayed at our house in passing. We had a large two story house, and as time went on, there were so many travelers that our house was just like a hotel, or as we called it in those days, an inn. Then we began to have what was called the "white man's law," according to which inn-keepers must have a license. Father and Mother were delighted with this proposition. We would not get a license.

But the place had been known so long as Mulberry Grove that the men would never ask if they could stop; they would just dismount. Mother would say, "You cannot stop here; we cannot keep you." But there being no other place to go, they would say, "We have got to stay." So it drifted on as it had been: taking in travelers coming and going.

Mother kept books of accounts from the day the license law went into effect until the end of the year. Then it was on the day it was closed that she showed her books to father. He exclaimed, "You must be mistaken in the figures."

"Not at all," my mother said.

He ran them up and said, "Is it possible that we have lost nearly $2000.00 in one year?"

"You see we could not take payment without a license."

He rang the bell for the hostler to bring his horse, and said

to mother, "I will go to the county seat immediately, and get out a license." The distance was only eighteen miles, so he was able to return that night; and, being an early riser, he tacked up his notices so the travelers could see them when they came down next morning. They were glad to pay. My father said to the gentlemen, "I never intended to keep travelers, but I wished to have a peaceful home. You pale faces flock in on me; so you see I have got my license."

"We are only too glad to pay," said the men.

This was in the time of the Indian emigration. People were rushing from all parts of the country to get land. My father was, at this time, in Mobile, Alabama, selling his products. We had no banks except in the large cities. We had a great deal of money in currency in the house, and one night during his absence there were some robbers stayed all night. Some of the older Negroes discovered something about those men that looked suspicious. They came and told my mother what they saw. They prepared themselves to defend my mother. She told the servants to put us children to bed. The doors to the houses in those days were heavy doors with large bolts. They made an attempt about midnight to get into my mother's room. She being a good shot aimed just above the lock thinking it might strike the man's heart, pulled the trigger, tore a hole through the door and wounded one of the men. The others ran, taking with them the wounded man. They went to the barn, made the Negroes saddle their horses and away they went.

In those days there was no way of tracing such people, as the Negroes dared not molest a white man, and the laws were not such as to protect them if they did. They would often say, "I don't want you to take a shot at me." Mother would reply, "I will not if you keep in your place." By this time the country was becoming well populated. Tennessee and Kentucky figured largely. Men from Tennessee would drive thousands of heads of hogs into our country, always stopping at Mulberry Grove. They would go from house to house notifying the people what time the hogs would be there for sale. Then came the Kentuckians with their fine horses and mules, great quantities of them. We enjoyed the horses and mules, and would go to the barn to look after them. I took a great liking to a beautiful little colt and wanted my father to buy it, but he said, "We have plenty of horses here you can ride without that." But the owner of this drove wanted him to buy it for me. I would go day after day and pet that colt so at last he puts a halter on it, brought it up to the house, set me on it then turned to my father and said, "If this was yours, would you take $100.00 for it?" My father looked it over—it was a beauty—"No, I don't think I would."

Then he said, "Well, I will give your daughter this colt." I called the colt Selum. I asked my father if he would let Douglass, the horse darkey, lead him around and let me ride it until I got it gentle. He said, "Why certainly, certainly." So my brothers and I had a great time with Selum. I owned that horse until he died. My father had him buried for me. Now you see what little pleasures we had in my day. They were happy days, happier than now with all the toys, playthings, and everything that heart could wish.

Negro speculators used to come in from North Carolina and Georgia with great droves of Negroes to sell. I recollect one drove of Negroes that came. I said, "Mother, there is a white woman come to the Negro quarters." She said, "Oh no! daughter." She was as white as my mother and was very, very good looking, but not as handsome as my dear mother. She had grey eyes; my mother had large, black, expressive eyes. I said, "Father, don't buy that white woman, we don't want a white Negro, we want black Negroes." "No daughter," he said, "I don't want as white a Negro as that." So the speculators had her on their hands, also her two little boys when they left. No one in our country wanted them. You see from this statement that our country was passing fast into the hands of the pale face.

My mother's people were leaving for the west. Mother's father, Zedic Braschier, made a vist to my mother the summer the Indians were emigrating. He did not go west himself. He was a Scotchman, whose father was the settler and owner of Pensacola, Florida, and he would not leave this country for the west while his father lived. But he died before his father did, and no one in our family ever tried to recover the property. This was in Jefferson's administration. My mother in after years wanted to enter suit for this land, but my father objected. There had been an armistice entered, and she wanted to enter suit at that time; but the armistice ran out, so there was no hope of recovering the property.

I thought I would take up this Pensacola claim, but being young and knowing little of such things, I abandoned the idea. I went, without the knowledge of my parents, to an eminent lawyer by the name of Frank Lyons. His explanation soon showed me that the armistice in regard to this property had run out—it was null and void; so we said nothing about it to anyone, gave it a decent burial and let it go. The property drifted back to the Government.

My mother's maiden name, as I have said, was Braschier. Her mother, who was half Choctaw Indian, was Susan Vaughan. I think the Florida land had been hers; and I know it was her

blood which entitled mother and her children to Indian lands. We children were Indian, Scotch, French and English.

I remember that my grandfather, Zedic Braschier, drank heavily at times; and Mother, who knew Father's temper and his ideas about such things, used to keep him in a room by himself, with a Negro man to attend him until he sobered up. You know they say that when whiskey is dying in a man, he is almost dying himself. Mother was always on the peacemaking order. "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall inherit the kingdom of God."

My mother was a Catholic, which everybody knows, was the first religion ever introduced among the Indians. But being separated from a priest and from a Catholic community, she and her family attended Protestant churches. She was a broad minded woman, and believed that Christians were Christians, regardless of name.

We had three churches in our neighborhood: Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian. We attended first one and then the other. At last there came a Methodist missionary who became very much interested in our family. He came to my father's house, and asked permission to pray. Father granted permission. The missionary remarked, "I want to pray with you and your family." "Oh! yes, you can pray for my family," he said. That was the awakening of Protestant religion in our family. My father, being raised a strict Baptist, hardly believed anybody could go to heaven unless he was immersed; he would often say that his family could not join the Methodist church. I, being so much like my father when I set my head to do a thing, would go ahead regardless of what might be thought, if I decided it was right; so I attended this protracted meeting. I asked no permission, but joined the Methodist church. I was then between fifteen and sixteen years of age. I did not think much about what my father would say and do, and did not care much. In returning late in the evening to our home, my mother, who was of a quiet, angelic nature, remarked to me:

"What are you going to do? You know your father's feelings towards that church. He may disinherit you."

"Oh! I don't care," I said.

"Well," said she, "what will you do?"

"Go with the missionary to the far west, with the Indians," said I.

"Well, my daughter," said she, "it takes money for these things."

Said I, "I have a little money of my own."

"But," said she, "what is ten or twelve dollars in a case of this kind "

"Oh! well," I said. "I know I'll get it."

So the subject was dropped.

At night after the family retired, my father asked my mother, "What about your meetings?"

"Oh! they were good," she said.

"Have many joined the church?" he asked.

"Yes, quite a good many," she replied.

"Who were they?" asked my father.

I could almost hear my mother's heart beat as she called name after name. Finally she said, "Well, Sarah was one."

My father stopped short. Not another word!

At breakfast the next morning I fully expected my father to call me to "taw" as we called it. But he did not. He only seemed very much moved and acted rather strangely. I said:

"Father, are you going to church this Monday morning with us?"

"No daughter, there is too much that calls my attention on the farm."

I was glad to talk to my father, and was the only one of the family who could do so. I plead with him to go, saying:

"Uncle Lewis (the old Negro foreman) could do very well."

He said nothing but did not go.

Tuesday morning the carriage was brought out. My mother said to my father:

"I will not go unless you go."

He still persisted he could not leave the farm with the Negroes.

"Well, I can't leave either," she said.

"How is this?" he said, "you have always gone without me."

"Yes, but not in a case of this kind," she answered. "There is so much good to hear and learn I think it will do you good."

He went out of the house, came back and said, "Well I'll go this time but don't ask me to go any more."

I slipped around to my mother and said, "Mother, Father will go every day now." I didn't know why I thought so, I could not know. My mother wanted me to say how I knew. I could not say how, but I knew he would. And to our great pleasure he went every day until Friday. That day he did not go and we could not persuade him to do so; he had the whole family drive off and leave him. Saturday morning came and mother said to him, "This is the day of promise, and if you do not go I will not even let the children go." He gave in and went.

When we got within a mile of the church, going through the litttle village of Belmonte, my father said, "I don't feel well; I will get out at the doctor's office." My mother insisted that the doctor would be down at the church in the valley, so we drove on to the church. My father still insisted that he was sick. We took the cushions from the carriage, made a bed under the arbour. Very soon the preachers, Methodist and Baptist, went out to where he was, and such prayers I never heard before. In a few hours, my father stood up and said, "I am well, I am well, I am well." The preachers did not insist on his joining the church.

In the evening he told them he would study the matter over. The Baptist minister came to him and said, "Join some church; it makes no difference which one, it is only in name. Choose ye whichever you will."

The next day, to my surprise, he walked up and presented himself for six months trial in the Methodist church. The Baptist minister was just as happy as though he had been baptized by him. It was religion in those days that counted, not membership. So we moved on, a happy family. My mother did not join the church yet; having been raised a Catholic, she weighed the subject well, got her own consent and united with the Methodist church. In those days we did not have Negro churches. There was a place back of the pulpit cut off for the Negroes. Of course, they were behind the preacher, but they could hear him just as well. There were lots of good, honest Negroes in those days. They thought stealing chickens was just as great a sin as killing a man. But, alas, it is not so in these days!

In those days there was a clan (an organization, it would be called in this day and time) called Murrell's Clan.[6] Murrell was one of the greatest highway robbers that ever was known

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[6] John A. Murel was living in Madison County, Tennessee, in 1830 when he organized what became known throughout the South as the "Murel Clan," an association of some 5,000 members who became notori-

in the United States then, or even now. He had an office like any other organizer, and many men joined this clan. Should a man break his oath he was immediately killed. Their plan was to steal horses and Negroes, run them from one state to another and sell them. So he had clans in a chain, from one end of the United States to the other. About this time they were scouring the country, and horses and Negroes were missing, never to be recovered. These confederates would pry around the farms after night, and get the Negroes to go with them. They would sell them, with a promise that they would steal them again, give them half the proceeds, and run them into the free states. But if ever they did it, I have never seen it in print.

They were prowling around my father's farm. My father always gave the Negroes—those that were disposed to work and make a little money—a few acres of land which they invariably planted in cotton. Those that were ambitious would work at night by a torch light carried ahead by a small child. They were working one night at the end of the row when a boy startled them by saying, "Hello! Auntie, this is a very hard life for you. If you will only come with me I'll make it an easy life for you and you shall have your freedom."

There had been some stealing around there from other farms, and the Negroes talked and held meetings about it. But as they never heard of those that were stolen, some were very suspicious of these white men. These men came two nights in succession to my father's Negroes. Now comes the truth and honesty of the Negroes in that day. The next day two of the Negroes came to my mother asking her to go off in a private room, they had a secret to tell her. So they told her the proceedings of these white men and what they had said. When my father came in, my mother acquainted him with all this. He immediately said, "That is Murrell's Clan." He told my mother to tell the Negroes to go back that night and see if they would come the third time. He then got on his horse and went through the surrounding neighborhood, telling the neighbors what had happened, and got them to join him in his plans to capture the white men. He knew every foot of ground around his plantation, and stationed his company in hiding places to wait. Sure enough one of the men appeared. They closed in and captured him. They asked him no questions, but tied his hands behind him and marched to the house with him. Now, my father's

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ous as "western land-pirates or Negro stealers." One Virgil A. Stewart who had been an associate of Murel published a book in 1835, purporting to reveal the operations of the "Murel Clan" and its plot for a general insurrection of slaves on December 25, 1835. The book was widely read, and caused panic and bloodshed throughout the south for many years.—Dunbar Rowland, Ph.D., *Mississippi* (Atlanta, 1907), Vol. II, p. 286.

Negroes never gave anything away, so it was never told for years how they captured this man. His name was Dodd. The sheriff was sent for that night.

I know, now, that they were not good officers in those days. They wanted to enforce the law but were cowardly. Had it been the Indians, they would have stood at their posts until they died. The man begged not to be carried to jail until his brother could be summoned to meet him. The sheriff, being a coward, agreed to stay at my father's house until his brother who lived just across the line in the Mississippi state, was sent for. He came. Oh! what an impression that made on me to see those brothers weep. One said, "Oh! my brother, we thought you were dead. Where have you been all these long years?" "Oh!" said the other, "I have just been wandering from state to state." He took good care not to give away his clan. My father took this brother out into another room to talk to him. He said, "You may be an honest man, I don't dare say that you are not; but your brother is a d—rascal, and more than that, I am confident that he belongs to Murrell's Clan.

"My God! My God!" said the man, "Can it be possible my brother has strayed away that much?" Then he remarked, "I am so glad my father and mother are dead, for this would surely break their hearts."

The man who had been arrested sold his horse and saddle to my father. My father said to him, "What is the name of this horse?" He told him its name was Comanche. We did not know then that it applied to the Comanche Indians.[7] Then they immediately took him to jail. Bondsmen were not easy to get in those days, and even honest men were suspected of belonging to the Murrell Clan. He was sentenced to be sent to the Georgia penitentiary, but by some hook or crook he sickened and died in jail. Still, he had another Judge to appear before.

We were on the watch, from that time on, for traveling men, and knew, then, that it was Murrell's Clan that my mother shot at. After all these things happened, it took hours of close watching. Everybody was suspicious of strange men. And this is where the Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina traffic comes in. No one, at this time, would buy a Negro until the speculator could give a clear title to the Negro. It was like trading for a piece of land. They went back a generation in those deeds, in

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[7] The Comanches held forth in their habitat on the Plains, swooping far down into Mexico on raids for horses and mules which they sold to northern traders during a period of many years before the Civil War.—Ralph A. Smith, "The Comanche Bridge between Oklahoma and Mexico," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 1 (Spring, 1961), pp. 54-69.

order that they might not get a stolen Negro. It was but a few years after this transaction, that a man by the name of Stewart joined Murrell's Clan. He was a spy from an honest clan. But he so completely deceived Murrell that he became Murrell's bosom friend, and succeeded in getting a long list of hundreds and hundreds of names of men, and laid deep plans with his own clan to capture Murrell. Murrell was captured and sent to the penitentiary of Georgia. Some people said that this spy was nothing but a traitor. Such remarks caused the one who used the expressions to be closely watched. It would not be long until he would want to sell out and move to another country. Then the honest men would say to each other, "We make it too hot for him!" That may be true; only the One who sees the heart can know. Still, those were dangerous days. But there was one blessing; they had not learned to kidnap the pale face.

After Murrell's capture confidence and peace were restored. Then came what we would call progression. A government stage line was established. We wondered what that could mean. Hearing our parents talk, we thought it must be something wonderful, and wondered sometimes how many horns it had. When it arrived, we looked it over and remarked, "Well it is like our carriage only a great deal larger, but not as fine." We would listen every day for the horn, as my parents had to keep stage stand. Of course, there was money in it, but my father said he would much rather not have the stage or the money.

We then began to get a little more literature. The stage driver would often bring us papers that had been cast away, and were out of date, but were new to us. If those papers had contained accounts of murders, suicides and kidnapping, we would have been horrified. Perhaps there was a law forbidding the writing of such things.

Then there came a great man through that country surveying for a railroad. That was quite an exciting time, but none was built. We continued traveling by steamboat. Nevertheless, the stage line brought much prosperity to our country. Little villages started up which would naturally call for professional men. And this stage brought into our little village my first brother-in-law, James Monroe McLain [McClain]. He soon cast his eyes upon my oldest sister who was a very handsome young lady, or at least we younger ones thought she was. So, about a year from the time he came to our country they were married.[8]

In those days they gave large weddings. Everybody you

[8] Susan Moncrief, daughter of Sampson and Sophia Braschier Moncrief, married James Monroe McClain. The McClains came west in 1850, and settled in the vicinity of Skullyville, the site of which is about 1½ miles northeast of Spiro, LeFlore County.

knew was invited. And the suppers in those days were more like the barbecues of this day. The fatted calf and hogs were slain, and every darkey that had any ability to cook was put into active service. Such cakes and pies and loaves of all kinds were made, commencing three days before hand! Such occasions as those were! Glorious times for the Negroes, for they dearly loved to see the house crowded with guests! My sister was married on the twenty-fifth day of December, a real cold day. Dancing was very popular then. Dancing and eating was the order of the night. We were very proud of our new brother-in-law until we found that he was to take my sister away. Then we felt she was not our sister any longer, and how we cried, the morning she kissed us goodbye! But she said, "I am coming back." It seemed like a year before we saw her again, but it was only a few months. They then settled on the land that was hers by the Indian treaty; so that brought her close to home. The first visit the stork made brought me a little niece. My father said he must have the privilege of naming her, so he named her Helen Marr, a Scotch name.

In a few years from this time my brother-in-law and oldest brother thought they wanted to go west, so they did. My sister only stayed a year, she was so dissatisfied. Still, when she came back she would say, "I know we should have stayed; but Mother, I could not stay so far away from you." My brother remained, and in a few years married a Choctaw girl, about one eighth Indian, and went into the ranch business, which was very profitable. The range was fine and free for all.

My brother-in-law was a lawyer, and not being a very strong man, began the practice of law in Bellmonte with an able firm, the Owensby Firm. The business flourished very well, but he made a mistake in coming back. He would often remark, "Had I remained in the west I would have been one of the men on the top round."

About this time another pale face cast a sheep's eye on my next sister. "Well," I said "*I* won't marry." But this sister, Mary Ann, married on Christmas night, as my other sister had done. Then we had two good, new brothers which added to the list of our own brothers made seven in all. We had great times going to see our sisters. My second sister then had a daughter. We thought it the greatest thing in the world to be called "aunt."

If the one great desire of my heart had been accomplished—an education—I think I would have been supremely happy. A great many girls from our neighborhood were going to Dallas

County,[9] to the Summerfield Seminary, and that caused my fever to go very high. I went to an old gentleman by the name of Blacksher who was a great friend of my father's, and got him to go to my father and intercede for me, and when father gave his consent I didn't know where I was, I was so happy. I worked day and night to get my little wardrobe in order. We went by private conveyance quite a distance. When I arrived the home girls were delighted to have me. I was quite a pet there as I was the only Indian in the school of one hundred and fifty girls. But Oh! the trying hour when I was examined! The tears would rise, but I would smile and wipe them away, and put on a brave front. The teacher, Miss Douglass, would say, "You'll come to the front."

"I will try," I said.

How hard I studied that one year! And let me tell you, friends, it is a trying thing to be so nearly grown, and to go where there are mere children who seem to know everything. I had two teachers to recite to: Miss Douglass, and Mrs. Morgan, a widow. It is said that "old maids" have no patience; but Miss Douglass had a very great deal, and I loved her dearly. With my other teacher it was not so. I gave her a little trouble by speaking very roughly one evening. I knew I had done wrong; my conscience pricked me hard for it. I thought I would keep it to myself, but my room mate saw there was something wrong, for I was usually very lively and full of fun. I finally told her what I had said. I wanted to be good, but Satan got the upper hand of me. Those dear girls talked to me, and told me how to approach Mrs. Morgan. So I did as they advised me to do. I felt so ashamed and it was hard to ask forgiveness, but I really felt that I had done wrong. So, I met her the next morning. She lived in the country and rode in. I had the words by heart which the girls had taught me. I was freely forgiven, and she even embraced me and said, "We call you our little Indian queen in our class."

"I am just a lonely little girl, and I thought maybe you were cross to me because I was an Indian," I said.

"No, my child, I never thought of it in that light," she said.

"Well," I said, "I know I should not have talked to you as I did for my mother never allowed me to use such language even to a Negro."

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[9] Dallas County, Alabama.

I was very happy during those nine months. This was the last schooling I ever had.

When I see the progress, and all the institutions for schooling, and all the great facilities of this day and age, and see, also, the indifference of the present generation, I want to talk to them. But I haven't the language to express what I feel in regard to an education and the abuse of such great opportunities and privileges when we who are past the eighty-fourth mile post feel that we know nothing. Things that we might have had and a good education were not the order of the day then. It was money, and what little happiness you could get out of home life. Of course, we had some highly educated ladies and gentlemen, but they were few and far between, like angel's visits. But I must say that those who were educated were not puffed up over it but looked upon honesty, truth and virtue as the great things in life.

Well, when I returned home, happy to be reunited to my mother, sisters and brothers, my father thought I had improved a great deal. My mother said, "Give her a chance and you will see much greater improvement." But that was only like chaff before the wind.

In a few months I said one day, "Well father, what do you want me to do?"

"Well, there are a few little poor children in the west part of the district, go and teach them. I will see that you are paid."

Happy for me they knew nothing, not even their ABC's. That was where my missionary work came in. I was paid a pittance. My father said, "You must earn all the money you use for all the finery you want. I'll give you your common clothes." So I taught the five months out. The poor children had to go back to the farms, and you may believe I did not have much finery. I did sew a little for the Negroes around the farm, making their finery. We would not call it finery, now, though. They would sell their little cotton, and I would tell them what the price was. They would willingly hand it up, but I did not feel like keeping it, and would hand it back and say, "No, I don't want it."

About this time a gentleman came along (I will *say* gentleman. I guess he was.) with a good deal of money, but an old bachelor and not a bit of life about him. He was as stale as a mackerel that had been kitted for twelve years. He commenced paying his attentions to me, and because he was a man of means,

my father liked it. But don't think I had any good intentions toward him![10] My mother asked me if I had any intention of marrying this Mr. Worley. I said, "No, if Mr. Worley had all the world, I would not marry him."

"Why?" she said.

"Well, he has no heart, he can't smile, and, Mother, I could not live without having joy and happiness."

"You are right," she said, "Never marry a man you don't love."

Then there came a Kentuckian by the name of Erasmus Bryant Hawkins. I liked him at first sight. We kept company for a year or more, but my father did not like him, and would call him all kinds of names. Eventually, my father saw that we liked each other very much. So, when he was leaving one evening, my father very abruptly said: "I don't wish you to come to my house any more."

"Very well," he replied.

My mother liked him very well. We passed a few notes, he having a friend that he could give the notes to, and that friend would turn them over to a friend of mine. I did not tell my mother I was going to marry him. I knew my father would ask her if she knew anything about it, and that would make trouble. I never let her know one word, but I had a very confidential friend in a Negro girl, and I would slip out my things to her. I had told Mrs. McCarty, one of my sisters, so she could secrete my clothes as I slipped them out. I knew that I must be in my nineteenth year before a license could be obtained. This information I furnished Mr. Hawkins the day before we were to be married.

I laid all my plans well. The license was purchased on Saturday evening. The whole family went to church on Sunday morning. I had slipped a note to Dr. Hayden's wife, asking that he should come up to the church door just before preaching commenced. I slipped out, I took his arm, and walked off a quarter of a mile to Bellmonte. His wife and I being about the same age and size, looked very much alike at a distance, and no one suspected what was up, thinking I was his wife. I entered

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[10] Mrs. Mary Davis who has lived in Caddo, Oklahoma all her life knew Mrs. Sarah Ann Harlan many years ago, and recalls that she was a nice looking woman, rather heavy set and a very friendly person. One day, Mrs. Davis as a young girl overheard Mrs. Harlan say to her sister, Katie O'Dean, "We [the women] say we don't care much about the man, but we do!"

his house. No minister dared marry an eloping couple in those days. Mr. Bates, a Justice of the Peace, who had the power to do such things, soon caught on to what was up. He was an old schoolmate of mine, so he just stepped in and married us. We left the village, and went horse-back fifteen miles, to a landing called Pace's Landing.

I knew there would be a "hot time in the old town" when father found it out. When church closed, he missed me and commenced to hunt for me in the crowd. He met a Mr. Blakely and said, "Have you seen my daughter, Sarah?"

"Yes," he said, "I saw her married about an hour ago."

"To whom?"

"To Mr. Hawkins."

"Well, everybody can know my own affairs but myself. I will bring her home."

He got into the carriage, called on a lawyer in the village, and asked if he could force me to come home. "If she is under age you can," he said, "but if she is over age, her husband could sue you for damages." Not knowing whether I was of age or not, he asked my mother:

"And did you know she was going to marry?" he asked.

"No indeed I did not," she said, "and I will have to go to the Bible to see if she is of age."

My father's temper was at blood heat, then. He vowed he would bring me home. He caught up with an old friend of his, related his troubles to him, still vowing he was going to find out which way and where I had gone. This friend advised him to do nothing, or if anything, to make friends, saying, "Send for your child to come back and visit you." "No, he was going to find me," but I out-witted him. I had friends, too. Dr. Hayden sent me a message to go in some other direction, which I did. My father kept up the search for two days then said, "Well I'll disinherit her, that's what I'll do. She has married a poor man and doesn't know how to work. Now I'll see what she will do." He did see; for I went to work. I guess you would call it work: I kept house. My husband was a cabinet maker, and because there was very little demand for such work as that, he took charge of Pace's Landing. There was a good deal of traveling, people getting on and off boats. He shipped goods for them, and handled a good deal of freight. So we made a good living. We didn't have any money to throw at the birds, though. But, having been raised right, in an inn, I had some idea how to manage the people who came and went on the steam

boats. The work got a little too heavy for me, so many to cook for, so my husband hired a Negro girl to help me. In those days you could hire a Negro for five dollars a month.

Well, I had been away about a year, and I was so homesick for my dear mother. Business got dull about July. I told my husband I must see my mother. He asked me if I was not afraid of my father. I said, "No, not now." So I went to my brother-in-law, Mr. James McLain, and asked him if he would go with me over to my father's. Very willingly he went, my poor little sister all the while dreading that my father would keep me from coming back. Brother Jim, being a lawyer, knew he could not do that. When I got home, my father was taking his nap. I didn't stop. I just rushed in, threw my arms around him, and kissed him. He shoved me away and said, "What do you mean?"

"Oh! I am so glad to see you!" I said.

I then went to my mother and embraced her. I did not talk very much to my mother. I was afraid tears might come. It may seem foolish, but father stepped into a room where there was a looking glass from where he could see me. I saw him watching me, so I looked no more. He walked out and called my brother-in-law, and asked him what to do. My brother-in-law said, "You can do nothing, she has the law on her side." My darling mother was in great fear for me, asking me what I would do if he locked me up.

"Mother," I said, "I don't fear him a bit. I dare him to do it."

You see from this he was monarch of all.

Just as soon as my brother-in-law came in, I said, "Let us go, brother." My father rushed off without bidding me goodbye. I started after him, but mother said, "Don't follow him." I just called out "Goodbye father!" No answer. I said to my mother, "I will never come again until there is peace." And I did not.

I went on a year longer. My father took sick, very sick, and he was very much afraid he would die. So, he wanted to see me, told my mother to send for me. She wrote me a note and told me she would send the carriage for me. My husband asked me again if I was not afraid to go. I said, "Not a bit, I have the law on my side."

Father was very, very sick and almost gave up. My mother said, "If you can only get him to take the medicine he may get well." I said, "Mother, this is one time I am going to boss." So, when the hour arrived to give the medicine I carried it to

him. He refused to take it. I drew myself up to my full height and said, "Father unless you take this medicine and do just as I say, or as the doctor says for you to do, I will leave immediately." He was too sick to quarrel with me. I stood there, he looking very straight at me. I never winced.

"Are you giving it to me like the doctor said?" he asked.

"Just exactly."

So, he was submissive and took it. I knew my father loved me and I wanted to see him get well. After I had been with him a few days, he rebelled again, but I held the fort. He took the medicine. In a few hours afterward, I was sitting by him fanning him, a Negro on one side, I on the other. "Now," I said, "Father, I am no baby, neither are you. You must not do this the third time. If you do, I will walk out of this house." So I got along with him nicely for the next eight or ten days, until he was able to sit up and walk around some. I knew he was out of danger, now, and began to want to go to my little home, and told him I must go. He hardly knew what to say, but wanted to tantalize me a little and said, "I hate to see you go, I am afraid your husband will abuse you for coming to me."

"Not a bit of it, Father! Do you think I would live with a man who would not allow me to go and see a sick parent? He knows how to treat a wife, and he is a Christian. He loves his enemies."

So, I went to my home.

In a few months after that my father made it convenient to go out of his way to come by my house, and condescended to speak to my husband. He asked how I was. My husband said, "Well, she is not in danger, but is sick; the doctor says just a bilious attack." He only wanted to be asked to come in, so my husband asked him in. He came in to see me and said:

"Do you want to be carried home"

I said, "No, no!

When he left he said, "I'll go home and send your mother."

So, she was sent, and matters were all bridged over. But the idea of my husband not having property or wealth was always the sting with my father. Still, he was always afterwards very nice with him. My husband took good care not to go about my father to bother him. I went and came when I pleased. Finally the stork visited me, and brought me a sweet little girl. My husband named her Julia Vermelle.

About this time my mother and father made a trip out to the western country to see my brother. They were very much pleased with the West. There were three sisters of us then married. When they came back they said to us, "If you ever expect to make a move, now is the time to make it."

There was a great opening in the west, and this being about the time the pale faces were wanting to get the Indians all out of Mississippi and Alabama, a bill was passed to have the government move us. The government made appropriations to move us all west, paying our expenses and furnishing one year's rations, issued as the soldiers' rations were issued, every three months. This applied to our Negroes as well as to ourselves. We began to make preparations. There were men who contracted for this work. They went around among the Indians enrolling their names, ages, etc., and then set the date to leave, traveling by boat. The emigration agents always sent the Indians by deck passage.

We emigrated under Lewis & Bridges. We had always traveled by boat, but never by deck passage. We made arrangements with the agent to let us travel our usual way, and we would pay the difference ourselves between that and deck passage. We did not think it wise to take deck passage. We had never been used to such a way of traveling. The agent knew that such Indians as we were, and many others just like us, could not stand deck passage.

(To be continued)

SARAH ANN HARLAN (Photo early 1890's)

SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

*By Frank A. Balyeat**

When Oklahoma became a state, November 16, 1907, the prevailing attitude of its citizens toward separation of the races in schools of Oklahoma Territory had been right well developed, and was increasingly accepted by a large majority. In 1901 after a decade of trying various laws, there was enacted a separate school law that satisfied most white patrons sufficiently well to be continued, with few changes, through remaining territorial years and into statehood. In the nine land "openings" in settlement of the various areas that combined to make Oklahoma Territory, the new settlers came from all over the United States, with the nearest states most heavily represented. The three bordering states of Arkansas, Kansas, and Texas contributed most extensively, the Southern majority soon evident and increasingly.

The Territorial Legislatures of 1890, 1897, and 1901 did much to shape the school laws, with other sessions making few changes in them. In theory, at least, the 1901 legal pattern had settled the question of "mixed or separate schools" in the new territory, a problem that had vexed public officials, as well as parents and other patrons, from the earliest years. Those better informed and able to think realistically could foresee significant change. How soon and in what form change would come, no one could tell. Nor could the dissatisfied people of both races foresee that nearly a half-century would pass after 1907 before Oklahoma settled this matter.[1]

Integration, segregation, and Negro were words rarely used in early legislation and news stories. Although "children" was used in all legislation on separation of the races in schools, it was generally understood that the laws on separation of the races applied to all enrolled persons, regardless of their age or grade level.

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* Dr. Frank A. Balyeat, College of Education in the University of Oklahoma, contributed this paper in his studies of early education in Oklahoma through his special research in the work of the Extension Division of the University. He is now doing further research in this field on the subject of "Academies in Oklahoma," (1890-1907).—Ed.

1 Article XIII, Sec. 3 of the Constitution of the State of Oklahoma expressed the racial distinction that was generally accepted through Territorial days: "The term 'colored children' as used in this section shall be construed to mean children of African descent. The term 'white children' shall mean all other children."

The year following the first land "openings," April 22, 1889, saw no governmental provision for schools in the new territory. The Enabling Act, passed in March, 1889, permitted qualified settlers to enter the area of "Unassigned Lands" and secure legal possessions of farms or town lots. But the Organic Act, which first provided for organization of government, did not get Conressional approval until May, 1890, more than a year after the opening. During that time, subscription or tuition schools were taught for very short terms in most towns and in a minority of rural areas. There were no standards or controls, each group of interested patrons donating material and labor to build temporary school houses, unless renting a vacated residence or other building. There were no provisions for certificating teachers, and no official records were kept or reports made. A few of the larger towns provided fairly good schools but in some towns and in most rural areas these schools were poor.

The First Territorial Legislature, consisting of 13 Council members and 26 in the House of Representatives, was elected August 5, 1890 and began work on urgent legislation before the end of August. Whether to have a separate school for the minority race in a district soon loomed as one of their most difficult problems. The Territorial Governor, appointed by the President of the United States, was always of his political party. In the first three sessions the Republicans had a small but unsafe majority in both houses, and the Governor was in agreement with them.[2]

With neither major party having enough members in either house of the First Legislature to control legislation, especially on controversial issues, the Democrats and Republicans combined to elect a Populist as the presiding officer in each house.[3] On segregation of the races in schools, a compromise bill was the best that could be enacted in that session. The School Bill, signed into law early in December, 1890, contained a county option plan. It provided that at the annual district meeting, on the first Tuesday in April, 1891, and every three years thereafter at that time, the patrons assembled would vote on having "mixed or separate" school. The total vote in each county determined whether a district in that county could establish a separate school

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2 A table in the 11th Annual Report of the Territorial Governor to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States (p. 7) shows the political distribution in both houses of the first six Legislatures.

	1890	1892	1984	1896	1898	1900
Republican	C,7-H,14	C,7-H,13	C,8-H,15	C,0-H,3	C,8-H,16	C,5-H,16
Democrat	C,5-H,8	C,5-H,9	C,1-H,5	C,2-H,3	C,2-H,3	C,1-H,1
Populist	C,1-H,4	C,1-H,4	C,4-H,6	C,0-H,1	C,0-H,2	C,1-H,1
Fusion				C,11-H,18	C,3-H,5	C,6-H,8

3 Edwin C. McReynolds, *A History of the Sooner State* (Norman) 1954), p. 293.

PRAIRIE CENTER SCHOOL

A school in the Cherokee Outlet about 1894, the typical sod schoolhouse. This picture is significant, showing four colored pupils (Laurie, Carrie, Clarence and Luata Davis) in an integrated territorial school. M. E. Porter is the teacher. Pupils left to right (order not positively identified), first row: Laurie Davis, Edith Clay, Elsie Clay, Cash Osburn, Vernice Long, Hattie Clay, Jay Barnett, Glen Harnden, Victor J. Jupe, Second row: Carrie Davis, Ray Ridenour, Marion Scott, Myrel Kirkpatrick, Charles Lamb, Ethel Long, Ed Jupe, Clarence Davis (in back), Bertha Osburn, Luata Davis (in back), Frank Eads, Ocie Osburn, M. F. Porter. (Photo in *Edna Hatfield Collection,* Division of Manuscripts, Library, University of Oklahoma.)

for the minority race and prescribed the plan and the procedure.[4]

If the majority in a county was in favor of separate schools, and apparently all counties so reported in April, 1891 and 1894, any district in that county could legally organize and maintain a separate school for the minority race, in most cases for Negroes.[5] The minority school was to be financed by a tax on all taxable property in the county and administered by the county commissioners. Art. VIII, Sec. 1 of the Oklahoma Territorial Session Laws of 1890 provided that ". . . separate schools for the education of white and colored children may be established in the Territory as follows and in no other way." The Enabling Act, Sec. 3 (1889) had provided, ". . . this shall not be construed to prevent the establishment of separate schools for the two races."[6] This was construed as legal basis for establishing separate schools.

Districts were allowed to operate within the optional provisions of the law of 1890, most districts providing brief terms for white pupils but often failing to provide any school opportunities for the Negroes in that district, with responsibilty shared with the county commissioners, who had too little tax money with which to implement the law.[7] Superintendent Cameron reported in 1894 that in most districts Negro children had no school privileges. Still, the steadily growing majority public opinion in favor of separation of the races pressed for repeal of the county option law.

The election of November, 1896, provided the opportunity to write a new law that was more favorable to the wishes of a majority of white patrons. As shown above, the Fusion ticket swept most Republicans out of the Fourth Legislature, with Democrats and Populists temporarily combining their forces and agreeing on wiping out the provision for mixed schools. That session met during the closing weeks of the term of the only Democratic Territorial governor, appointed by President Cleveland.

In March, 1897 the Legislature repealed all school legislation previously passed, including the county option plan, thus making unnecessary the third vote required of all counties, in April, 1897. The newly enacted law specified that ". . . . it shall

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4 Session Laws of Oklahoma, 1890, Chapter 72.

5 Second Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Instruction, 1894, p. 9.

6 O. E. Hatcher, "The Development of Legal Controls in Racial Segregation in the Public Schools of Oklahoma," unpublished Ed. D. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1954, p. 73.

7 *Ibid.*

hereafter be unlawful for any white child to attend a colored school or any colored child to attend a white school."[8] It was specified that the two schools in a district should have terms of equal length and "with equal school facilities." With so little money to implement the law, it was possible only to write "should" into the law of 1897, replacing the "may" of 1890. The legislators seemed to believe that sentiment and legislation would soon make the law compulsory and enforceable.

In some districts conditions caused mixed schools to continue, in spite of the new law.[9] Sometimes the number of Negro children in a district did not justify maintaining a separate school, even if enough county tax money were available. And, as in District 55, Lincoln County, the almost unanimous white sentiment was not opposed to mixed schools. The law of 1897 provided that if as many as eight scholastics (meaning children between 6 and 21) of the minority race were living in a district, it should provide a school for them, or else transfer them, at district expense, to attend school in an adjoining district where a school for that race existed. Often these measures were not followed by either the local board or the county commissioners and Negro children lacked the school opportunity that was theoretically provided by law. Also, parental apathy often contributed to their poor attendance, as did their working at picking cotton during much of the school term.

Additional "openings" in 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1895 greatly increased the area and population of Oklahoma Territory. The U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1896 added the large Greer County area, until then part of Texas. During these years the majority of people moving to Oklahoma from Southern states steadily increased, except in some northern counties of the territory. With this change came increased agitation and pressure for assurance of separate schools for the two races.

The growing change in attitude and the feeling of confidence of the Fusion majority in both houses of the Legislature in the spring of 1897, supported by a Democratic Governor, contributed to including in the law of 1897 a provision that was doomed to defeat from the very first attempt to enforce it. Chap. XXXIV, Article 1, Section 1 of that law provided that:

> Whenever there shall be as many as eight colored children in any one district in the Territory of Oklahoma, there shall be a district formed for the education of the colored children in the same manner

8 Oklahoma Session Laws of 1897, Chap. XXXIV, Art. 1, Sec. 9.

9 The writer of this article attended a mixed school in Dist. 55, Lincoln County, from 1892 to 1901, when the new law forbade mixed schools and made them not needed.

and upon the same application as other districts are formed, and they shall hold their annual meetings and elections and elect their own school officers in the same manner as other elections are held.

Section 2 of the law provided for prorating the school money of that district between the two schools "according to children of school age." Section 5 required that if as many as eight pupils of school age "of a different race" in any four or less adjoining districts were in need of a separate school district, the county superintendent should organize such district for the minority race, whether white or Negro. But, if there were not enough children of the minority race, under either of these provisions, their prorated school money should "remain in the treasury" until such a separate school was organized, or else this money should be transferred to provide tuition for the pupils attending in an adjoining district.

In the late winter of 1898 the Lincoln County School Superintendent tried to create District 134 within Districts 69 and 72, southeast of Davenport. The Negro patrons refused to accept the new plan, even though the County Commissioners supported her in her efforts. Similar situations arose in some other counties. The test case of the law was that of "Robert Porter et al. v. Commissioners of Kingfisher County et al." The Territorial Supreme Court, in 1898, held this law unconstitutional. All the justices concurred in the verdict, written by Justice Keaton, in which he stated, "That these two boards cannot exist legally and exercise the same powers over the same territory is, it would seem, too well settled in both law and reason to need further comment here."[10]

School opportunities for Negroes slowly but steadily improved under the law of 1897. More buildings were erected for the separate schools and more attention was paid to them by the County Commissioners and the County Superintendent. Increasingly arrangements were made for the few Negro children in some districts to attend school in an adjoining district that was convenient to them. This improved the receiving school, with the additional pupils and funds for school support. Some districts continued their mixed schools, though the number and location of most of them can not now be established. The prevailing attitude of both races toward changing school conditions continued to improve in most counties.

Another addition to Oklahoma Territory was late in the summer of 1901, with a large area opened by lottery in the southwestern part, extending Oklahoma Territory to the Red River and eastward to the 98th meridian. When schools were

10 Hatcher, *1 op. cit.*, p. 85.

organized in these counties, most of them during the autumn of that year, the 1901 Legislature had already repealed all existent school laws on separation of the races in public schools and had enacted what was to stand, with few changes, through remaining territorial days and into early statehood.[11]

The 1901 law continued the prohibition of the two races attending the same school and forbade anyone teaching pupils of the "opposite race." Penalties for violating either of these two regulations were sufficiently strengthening to make it possible to enforce them. By this time many of the Negroes had become reconciled to "separate but equal" schools, even though they knew that Negro separate schools were seldom as good as those of the white schools in the same district. Many of the white proponents of mixed schools had, by 1901, decreased their hopes and efforts toward integrating the public schools.

This law increased from eight to ten the number of children of the minority race in a district if a school was to be maintained for them. More and better arrangements were evolved for effective transfer of pupils of the minority race to a district sufficiently near.[12]

The 1900 U.S. Census Report showed that in Logan County, 22.9% of the population were Negroes; in Kingfisher County, 13.2%; in Oklahoma County, 11.3%; in Blaine County, 9.4%; and in Lincoln County, 7.9%. That year, 4.8% of the Oklahoma Territory population were Negroes, with eight counties having fewer than 100 each, and some with none. By 1902, there were thirty separate schools for the Negroes of Lincoln County, with most districts transferring their Negro pupils to one of these. It was possibly true that the very few Negro families living in some counties had little or no opportunity to attend a school under any circumstances, even though the law supposedly provided for such cases.

The main reason why the law of 1901 could be better enforced than could the racial separation law of 1897 was the change in plan of financing separate schools. The County Superintendent was then required to provide the County Commissioners with needed facts about scholastics of both races in each district, with all pertinent facts about the situation in each district, and with recommendations. He and the County Commissioners determined the kind of building needed, if any. The Com-

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11 Session Laws of Oklahoma, 1901.

12 It should be remembered that the total number of white minority schools in Oklahoma Territory was never large. Lincoln County, with 141 districts and one of the five counties with highest percentage of Negroes, never had more than two or three separate white schools.

missioners then advertised for bids, let contracts for buildings, and furnished the separate school houses, when they were finished. This was financed by the County Separate School Fund, raised by a tax on all taxable property in the county. The local district was then responsible for maintaining the separate school house and for replacing it, if destroyed. The teacher of the separate school was paid out of the County Separate School Fund.[13]

More and better Negro teachers were then available than was true a few years before, partly because of the opportunities provided by the Territorial school at Langston since 1898, and also, because since about 1898, some counties permitted Negroes to attend the County Normal Institute, held every summer in all counties for about four weeks. Gradually the Negro schools were made more and more the equal of the white schools. But, through the Territorial period and far into Statehood, it was not uncommon to find badly neglected separate schools for Negroes. As stated before, the 1903 and 1905 legislative sessions made very few changes in the law of 1901. Maybe this was due partly to the growing tendency to await the coming of statehood, which seemed to be near, when the two territories would be joined to form the State of Oklahoma.

Previous sections of this study presented the legislation on separation of the races in public schools, and told of some casual and resulting conditions. There follow some evaluations of the effects of these laws, as officially reported. The Governor's annual reports to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior sometimes included information about separate schools. His statements were usually based much on the reports made to him by the Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction, his appointee. The Superintendent depended much on reports and letters from the county superintendents of schools. At best, these were generlizations, often deliberately not mentioning situations that were greatly different from his brief characterization and evaluation of the operation of the separate school law.

Governor Renfrow's Report of June 30, 1896, stated (p. 8): "In districts where there are colored children separate schools are maintained for their instruction. This subject, while occasionally causing some friction, has, in the main, been dealt with in a fair and impartial manner and the rights of the children maintained and respected." He was then reporting on the law of 1890, which allowed each district to choose whether or not to separate the two races in school. Most districts, as soon as possible, had either established separate schools for the minority race or had trans-

13 Session Laws of Oklahoma, 1901, Chap. 38, Art. 9, Sec. 7.

ferred them, at district expense, to a school convenient to them in an adjoining district.

In 1897, Governor Barnes could not yet report on changes brought about by the law of 1897 but in his Report of June 30, 1898 he stated (p. 9): "In counties where there are any number of colored children separate schools are maintained and no child is without school privileges of the very best character." However, in each year of the first decade there were statements by the Territorial Superintendent and by some county superintendents to the effect that a significant number of Negro children did not have "equal" facilities, and often no school opportunities at all. Of course, these constituted a minority of the total children of that race.

In 1901, Governor Jenkins made no mention of separate schools, the new legislation then too recent to have become effective. In his Report of September 15, 1902, Governor Ferguson stated (p. 25): "Throughout Oklahoma a system of separate schools is now maintained with perfect satisfaction to the races. The advantages offered are identical and the system is generally popular." In his Report for 1903, Governor Ferguson said (p. 20): "The separate school law is working very satisfactorily. Last year there was some misunderstanding of its provisions. It takes some time for a law to become effective." He reported the building of many new school houses for the separate schools, and continued, "Better feeling prevails than ever before in the history of the Territory."

Governor Ferguson's Report for 1904 presents much the same situation as in 1903. In 1905, he includes (p. 51 ff) a report made to him by Territorial Superintendent L. W. Baxter, which stated:

> Probably no other State or Territory has built as strong a barrier against mixed schools . . . . If there should be one Negro child in a district, provision must be made for its common school education[14] by the establishment of a school, the employment of a tutor, sending the child at district's expense to an adjoining district where a school is established, or sending the child to the Territorial school at Langston.[15]

Superintendent Baxter added, "A white child must be cared for in the same manner. Even if white patrons might be willing to permit their children to attend schools with Negro children, this

14 The wording, and the general practice, then limited the schooling of Negroes in public schools to grades 1-8, usually stopping earlier than the 8th. No high schooling was ever specified or implied.

15 The Langston College annual catalog for 1905-06 shows an enrollment of 297 in grades 5-8, their addresses indicating that they had come from various communities where little, if any, schooling was available for Negroes, even in elementary grades.

course is prohibited by law." Prior to 1901, this latter restriction did not exist in Oklahoma law.

In his Report of June 30, 1906, Governor Frantz included this quotation from the law of 1901 (p. 76): "In all counties separate schools for white and colored children are hereby established and such schools shall be permanently maintained, and the board of county commissioners shall annually levy a tax on all taxable property in their respective counties to maintain said separate schools." He then reported almost as had Governor Ferguson in 1905, listing the ways whereby separate schooling might be provided the minority race, whether white or Negro, but not including the employment of a tutor. It is doubtful that the use of a tutor was ever employed as means of educating minority race children where there were so very few.

The brief reports of governors and superintendents of public instruction, both territorial and county, made generalization unavoidable, thus often obscuring some unsatisfactory conditions. However, these leave the picture confused and often misleading, because there were numerous occasions where separation of the races was not achieved quickly or without some violence. Sometimes Negro patrons attempted through court action to get their children admitted to white schools. These attempts were relatively few and rarely persisted long.

However, there were a good many districts that continued to have mixed schools until the 1901 legislation positively and effectively forbade such and, also, made adequate provision for separate schools for the minority race in a district. After much time spent reading microfilmed copies of newspapers of territorial years, this writer has been convinced that official records and news stories are too meager to enable one to understand what really occurred in many districts before 1901. In lieu of reports and news stories, the writer is giving some situations that occurred in districts that he attended, or in nearby districts. In the latter cases, there are now friends who attended these schools and have told what occurred in their districts. Of course, there were other patterns of adjustment in those early years than the ones included.

My family moved from Logan County in March, 1892, after we had attended an all-white one-teacher rural school near Langston for two years. The September, 1891, land "run" for farms in the Sac and Fox and the Iowa reservations that made up most of Lincoln County, occurred too late for farmers to establish schools that year, though County Superintendent Losey, appointed by the Governor, did accomplish organization of most districts that year. We lived in District 55, in the southwest corner of the Iowa Reservation portion, just north of the Deep Fork

of the Canadian River. The first term opened late in the autumn of 1892, with one Negro pupil enrolled. He was a well-behaved, studious boy, the son of the only Negro homesteader in that district at the time. He was readily accepted, there being obvious majority opinion in favor of mixed schools. However, one large boy frequently caused difficulty because he resented the Negro's presence. One day his very objectionable behavior called for rebuke by the teacher. The boy openly challenged the teacher, who sent us pupils outside while he and the offender literally "fought it out." Then school resumed for that day. Soon a similar situation arose, the teacher this time winning the fight which we watched through windows, and the disgruntled boy "quit school."

The term ended without further incident. However, on the last day of the three-month term, the teacher could not leave his sick wife nor could he notify us. We played awhile, ate our lunches, and started home. Then a very few of the larger boys, probably not happy all through the term to have the Negro boy in school, whipped and stoned him, wrote offensive words on his blue military cape, and sent him home crying. He enrolled again the next fall, soon joined by his two sisters and, later, by a few children of cotton tenants, who were attracted to the district for cotton hoeing and picking. This writer can remember no discipline caused by their presence after February, 1893, and the mixed school continued through the school year 1900-01. Then, under the new law, a school house was built for the minority race. Several years later the Negro boy that attended in 1892-93, having later attended the school at Langston, returned to teach the separate school in District 55.

District 43, which later became the Fallis district, lay just north of District 55. Population reports and the annual reports of assessors showed about equal numbers of whites and Negroes in the early years. There were enough Negro children to justify a separate school for them. In the boom days of Fallis, the separate school employed three teachers.

District 33, just northeast of District 43, had a large minority of Negroes, with many of the parents insisting that their children attend with the whites. It was agreed, however, that separate buildings would be constructed for the two races, both of them probably built by donated material and labor. The one for whites was completed first and their school began before the one for the separate school was ready. A young woman who was that year entering on her first year in school has told this writer what took place that first day. Some Negro parents came with their children and demanded that she as the teacher admit them. She kept them out, boosting my informant and another of the

smallest children through a back window, with directions to run to the nearest farm house and tell what was taking place. Soon enough white men assembled to dissuade the Negro parents, who then awaited the completion of their building. Their school soon opened in their building, with a white man teaching. Negro teachers were then very scarce and the law did not at first forbid the teaching of pupils of the "opposite race."

District 56, just east of District 55, contained the small town of Ingram, which disappeared by 1899, when the Frisco Railway built down the south side of Deep Fork, resurrecting Wellston. In December, 1893, that district began an interesting experiment with a school that was both separate and mixed. A farm residence had been vacated when the family moved into a better house. In this two-room building the white children sat in one room and the Negroes in the other, the white teacher standing the door between and teaching them as one class. A man who was then attending that school has supplemented the information found in newspapers of that time. A furrow had been drawn across the school ground, with the pupils of each race playing on their side of this unique Mason and Dixon line. One day a ball crossed that line. Attempts to retrieve it brought on a racial clash and discipline by the teacher. His action was so resented by the parents of some white children who had been punished that school closed that day. The next autumn there were two buildings for the two races.

Another district, the second east of District 56, illustrates a far different situation and solution. A man, whose father was the white member of the board in District 58, Sweet Home, has provided much of the information used in this account. The population was predominantly Negro, with most white settlers living in one corner of the district. The law made the white school the minority school and provided that all three board members should be of the majority race. However, the majority elected one white member on the board, with the understanding that he would have charge of administrative phases of the minority school. Each month he met with the other two members and the business of the two schools for the month previous was confirmed. Later the white segment of the district was separated to form a new district, annexing very small areas of adjoining districts. This was District 138, Warwick, still existing in 1961 as a small dependent district for white children who live there. In 1957, under integration, the Negro patrons voted to divide their area among three independent districts—Carney, Chandler, and Wellston—to meet the convenience of the bus routes of those three schools.

These five districts lay in a small area of the central western part of Lincoln County. It is probable that similar cases

existed elsewhere in Oklahoma Territory, and other experiences besides the five told above. Under the law of 1890, repealed in 1897 each district could have a mixed school, if conditions warranted. Many did, some creating a separate school for the minority race as sentiment changed and, later, the law was changed. It should be remembered that between 1890 and 1901 the tone of the law changed from "may" through "should," and to "must." And all this in one decade of rather peaceful experimentation.

In counties where the percentage of Negro population was the largest, cotton culture was a very important factor in territorial days. Though many white children entered school late and attended irregularly until cotton was all picked, it was the Negro children who were most affected and harmed. Most of their parents were tenants who moved frequently. If one large Negro family moved, it might leave too few in the district which they left for a minority separate school to be continued, and might add enough to the one entered to make a separate school necessary. The shifting population made it difficult to administer the provision of schoolng for Negroes.

The preceding discussion concerns only "common school education" for Negroes. This meant through the equivalent of the eighth grade, but many of the pupils of separate schools did not have an opportunity to progress that far. The rural schools were then really not graded. The "A" class in the various subjects represented the degree of advancement then existing in each school.

High school opportunity was rarely and tardily even considered for the Negro children in rural and village districts. Some large towns slowly added high school subjects in the minority school. Some of the older children attended the preparatory department of the school at Langston. The Colored Agricultural and Normal University catalog for 1905-06 lists names and addresses of fifty pupils enrolled in high school classes, some of them from the Indian Territory side, but most from various counties of Oklahoma Territory.

Prior to 1907 it was legal for a Negro to attend the colleges at Edmond, Norman, and Stillwater. However there has been found no evidence that any of them tried to enroll in any of these three public colleges.[16] Of course there were few Oklahoma Territory Negroes with sufficient credits to enroll in colleges prior to Statehood. Also, after 1898, college work was provided for them at Langston. The annual catalogs show that the first class was graduated by that college in 1901, when two completed degree requirements. The total enrollment increased slowly, most of them in territorial years being in high school grades, or lower.

16 Hatcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Two Last Letters on the Life of Lieutenant William E. Burnet

Two last letters that closed the life story of Lieutenant William E. Burnet have been brought to light just recently by Dr. Raymond Estep, and sent to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* in which Dr. Estep's series on "Lieutenant William E. Burnet Letters: Removal of the Texas Indians and the Founding of Fort Cobb" has appeared (Vols. XXXVIII, Nos. 3 and 4 and XXXIX, No. 1). This series of Burnet letters appear as a reprint published by the Oklahoma Historical Society, in which these two, last letters added to the original series, close the life story of the young Army officer who met death on the field of battle in the Civil War:*

The Last Letters

W. Richardson, Esq.:[157] I beg you will give a place to the following letter from Major General Dabney Herndon Maury, received a few days since.[158] It is to me a precious memorial of the most costly sacrifice that could be exacted of me in this life, the last member of a once dear family. It is precious, because I know it has the grace of sincerity and of truth.

David G. Burnet
Richmond [Texas], May 8, 1865.

Mobile, Alabama, April 3rd, 1865

My Dear Sir: With deep regret and grief I announce the death of your son William E. Burnet, my Chief of Artillery and my most Christian friend. He was shot through the head and

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* The footnote numbers in the above text of the two letters follow in consecutive order with those found both in the text published serially in *The Chronicles* and in the reprint.

157 Willard Richardson, editor, *Galveston Weekly News.* The two letters that follow appeared on page 4 of that paper in the issue of May 17, 1865. They were located by Mrs. Bonney Wetzler of the University of Alabama Library, Tuscaloosa, and were copied by J. D. Matlock, Austin, from the University of Texas Library collections.

158 Maj. Gen., CSA, Nov. 1862. Born in Virginia in 1822, Maury earned an A. B. degree at the Univ. of Virginia in 1842. Graduated from USMA in 1846, he saw service in the Mexican War, 1846-47. From 1847 to 1860 he was Assistant Professor of History, Geography, and Ethics at USMA and from 1850 to 1852 was Assistant Instructor of Infantry Tactics at USMA. Resigning his commission as captain in May 1861, he was named captain of Cavalry, CSA, in 1861. In July 1863 Maury was named Commander of the Gulf with headquarters at Mobile.—*Dictionary of American Biography,* Vol. XII, pp. 427-428; Cullum, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 284-285.

instantly killed, while on a reconnoisance in Spanish Fort, in the 31st ultimo. We buried him with honors of war yesterday evening. It will be consolatory to you to know that a very general and profound interest was aroused by this great misfortune, and that the honors paid to his remains and to his memory were unusually marked and appropriate. My wife, who esteemed him very highly, and many other good ladies here, took into their charge the sad duties relating to his funeral.

He was buried in the Protestant Cemetery[159] on Ann Street, in the lot of Mrs. Twelors,[160] in whose house he has been quartered ever since he came here. The Rev. Mr. Murray, of the Episcopal Church, conducted the services.

I had gone with Col. William E. Burnet to the Fort, and said to him on parting: "I will return for you in the steamer—remain here as long as you find necessary". I have never received such a shock as when, an hour afterwards, a despatch announced to me his death.

I relied upon him more than anyone. He was a rare compound of excellent qualities. He was the best educated soldier I have ever seen. His information was varied—he was accurate in his reflections and deductions. His courage was of the highest order. He was kind to all—had no antipathies nor prejudices against persons; and was so modest and unobtrusive that only persons of rare discrimination, or who knew him intimately, appreciated him adequately. His death is a loss to his country and comes at a time when I feel it profoundly. I cannot replace him. His loss is irreparable. When Gen. Beauregard was here, he expressed the highest compliments on him and some important inventions that he had applied to the service of heavy artillery.

Accept my sincere and deep sympathy in the bereavement which has fallen upon you, and command my services in any manner whatever.

My little army has now been beseiged for ten days by an over-powering force of the enemy—therefore we have held our own well—but the issue none can tell save Him to whose decree we must all bow.

Sincerely and respectfully your friend,

Dabney Herndon Maury

Hon. Judge Burnet.

159Now the Magnolia Cemetery.—Arthur G. Owens, Mobile, to the author, July 3, 1961.

160. "Twelves".—*Ibid*

The Museum of the Great Plains in Oklahoma

The establishment of the Nation's newest museum is here reviewed for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* by R. Haliburton, Jr., chairman of the Department of Social Science, Cameron State College, at Lawton:

The Nation's Newest Museum

On April 9, 1961, nearly fifteen hundred people witnessed the official dedication of the new Museum of the Great Plains at Lawton, Oklahoma. Those who toured the spacious three hundred thousand dollar physical plant, situated in Lawton's Elmer Thomas Park, were apprised that the institution is formally dedicated to portray the broad expanse of human history of the Great Plains region, included are the states or parts thereof of Colorado, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, and Wyoming. Since no other institution serves in this capacity, the museum has a unique mission:[1]

1. To conduct, preserve, interpret and exhibit items of the cultural history of man in Great Plains of North America.

2. To conduct research into the history of the Great Plains in order to increase man's knowledge of man, and to make such information available to all.

3. To gather information that will better enable present and future inhabitants of the Great Plains to understand the vivid contrast of the land, climate and people of the region.

4. To enrich the future, to promote the appreciation of beauty, and to serve as the voice of history in the Great Plains.

This magnificent air conditioned structure of "rustic modern" architecture contains an exhibit area of sixteen thousand square feet, and is situated on a five-acre tract in Lawton's new "Cultural Center." In retrospect, the genesis of the museum of the Great Plains was the epitome of austerity and entwined with the formation of the Comanche County Historical Society which was founded in 1952,[2] formally organized in 1954, and incorporated in 1955. During January of 1955, the society appointed a "museum and archives committee" charged with responsibility to formulate plans for the erection of a suitable building to house their numerous acquisitions.[3] Later, when the society accepted the invitation of Maj. Gen. Thomas E. de Shazo, the commanding officer of Fort Sill, to maintain a museum within the Fort's "old stone

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[1] Official statement of the mission of the Museum of the Great Plains by the Board of Directors.

[2] "Prologue," *Chronicles of Comanche County,* Vol. I, No. I, (Spring, 1955), p. 4.

[3] "Minutes of the First Meeting Under Articles of Incorporation," *Chronicles of Comanche County,* Vol. I, No. I, (Spring, 1955), p. 48.

corral,"[4] it marked the fruition of a diligent search for an appropriate "home" for the institution.

Nearly two years later during January of 1958, representatives of the McMahon Foundation met with the Comanche County Historical Society's Board of Directors and announced that Mrs. Louise D. McMahon, a widely-known Lawton philanthropist, desired to grant two hundred thousand dollars for the construction of an archives and museum building. This generous offer was accepted immediately.[5] During February of 1959 a contract was awarded to the W. C. Shelton Construction Company of Lawton, Oklahoma for construction of the facility, ground was officially broken in March of the same year, and the building was completed in May of 1960. The McMahon Foundation has subsequently provided an additional one hundred and thirty thousand dollars for construction, furnishings, and operation expenses during the first year.[6]

The Museum of the Great Plains, with a full-time professional staff of six, headed by director Marvin E. Tong, Jr., has already begun its responsibilities. The institution has been designated as a depository for the United States Geological Survey for the Great Plains region, and it has been the site of several major regional conferences.[7] Sixteen modular exhibits are on display depicting the divers characteristics of the Great Plains region. The exhibits include: "The Great Plains in Transition, A Climate to Reckon With, Prehistoric Indians of the Plains, Indian Horse, Warpath, The Fur Trade, Advancing the Frontier, The Great Buffalo Hunt, Wheels Across the Plains The Rampaging Herd, Territorial Openings, Lawton Opening, Lawmen of the Plains, The Frontier Doctor, The Civil War Centennial," and a series of free standing exhibits depicting various aspects of the lives of past plainsmen.

—R. Haliburton, Jr.

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4 John Clabes, *Daily Oklahoman,* April 9, 1961.

5 "Minutes of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Comanche County Historical Society *Chronicles of Comanche County,* Vol. IV. No. 2, (Autumn, 1958), p. 125.

6 John Clabes, *Daily Oklahoman,* April 9, 1961.

7 Marvin E. Tong Jr., Director, Museum of the Great Plains, interview with author on April 26, 1961.

Honoring Carolyn Thomas Foreman

A tribute to the great writing team of the Southwest, the late Grant Foreman and his wife, Carolyn Thomas Foreman appeared in the *Tulsa World,* July 16, 1961, as a feature story, "Books were their tools in trade," by Mrs. J. O. Misch, and has been reprinted in the Congressional Record. The following letter from Congressman Carl Albert calls attention to this reprint, and pays further warm tribute to Mrs. Foreman who richly deserves this signal honor:

Carl Albert, Okla.
Democratic Whip

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Office of the Democratic Whip
Washington, D. C.
July 21, 1961

Mrs. Grant Foreman
1419 W. Okmulgee
Muskogee, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Foreman:

I was very pleased to read in Sunday's Tulsa World, Mrs. J. O. Misch's article on your life and work. I have taken the liberty of having this article inserted in the Congressional Record. It is a matter of sufficient interest to have nationwide distribution through this mean.

I not only read the article but after reading it read a short biography of your father and found it also very interesting.

The long life which you and Mr. Foreman spent together has always seemed to me about as nearly ideal as any couple could hope to experience in this world. You both certainly lived the full and devoted life. Everybody who knew you got a vicarious happiness from your wonderful experience.

I have told you many times and I scarcely need to repeat that as one who loves Oklahoma, I feel a devotion beyond my power to express to you and your late husband. I am most grateful that you have drawn for us a picture of our background that never would have been or could have been drawn had it not been for your life and work. I am very happy that it was my pleasure in my lifetime to know you both and to count you among my friends.

Sincerely,
Carl Albert, M.C.

BOOK REVIEW

The Trumpet Soundeth. By Paul W. Glad. (University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1960. Pp 177. William Jennings Bryan and His democracy. Notes and references. Bibliography and a Bryan chronology. $4.50).

This book is the product of much research, selection and analysis as the reader could ever hope to receive from a dedicated author. A brief introduction to the author, Dr. Paul W. Glad of Indiana University, on the jacket, states that he has created here ". . . . a book distinguished by the freshness and good sense of its approach, the high order of its scholarship, and a remarkably readable style . . . . ."

There is no doubt but that William Jennings Bryan would like to have known of himself as Dr. Glad portrays him, his reasoning, his heritage, his educational development, his environment as "The Great Commoner." This book evaluates the Chautauqua agenda and describes the great influence of McGuffy readers on the populace.

This reviewer who claims some attainment in ability to read and understand has never before had the religious philosophy of its people so well analysed and defined as Dr. Glad has shown it to be in the middle western United States. He credits Bryan with the fundamental belief that politics, ethics and religion are all in one. His explanation of how the Great Commoner wanted this country founded on the Christian basis of love for all mankind is worth present day, political study.

There are no wasted words in *The Trumpet Soundeth.* Each word has been chosen for exact meaning. How otherwise could such a revealing book cover a robust character and all the environment from 1896 to 1912, telling all, analysing all, connecting all in only 177 pages? There are 39 pages of notes and citations if one wants to delve more into the subject.

The Trumpet Soundeth is designed for the studious mind, for those who want to learn and who seek truth. It gives more than the personality of William Jennings Bryan: It clearly points out a way of life as well as the people and their whys and wherefores.

—Joe McBride

Oklahoma City

Micro-Card Publications Concerning Oklahoma Archaeology

As a nation-wide service, the University of Wisconsin Press is producing a series of publications in American archaeology on micro-cards, titled *Archives of Archaeology*. Several of the publications which deal with Oklahoma archaeology are here summarized.

To assist the reader in understanding the time relationship of the cultural periods referred to in this review, it should be said that the periods and people mentioned are: the Paleo, or very early groups of perhaps 8000 years ago and more, who made flint tools of beautiful workmanship; a possibly later period, herein called the "Lawton Aspect of the Southern Plains Archaic," in which a non-agricultural and, possibly, non-hunting group, lived: Archaic groups, who used large projectile points in hunting but had no pottery; a Woodland culture, in which a crude, grit-tempered pottery and large projectile points appear as well as greater tool variety; the Neosho focus, a yet later group who used shell-tempered pottery, a variety of bone implements and at least some smaller projectile points and who probably engaged in agriculture; historic Indian groups who were living at the time the white man moved into this area; modern white culture.

This is by no means an adequate description of the chronology of cultures in this area, but the list should aid the reader in understanding the relationships of the particular archaeological sites whose reports are reviewed here:

—Sherman P. Lawton*

Norman, Oklahoma

"A Report on a Bluff Shelter in Northeastern Oklahoma," David A. Baerreis, and Joan E. Freeman. *Archives of Archaeology,* Vol. 1 (University of Wisconsin Press. $1.50).

Baerreis and Freeman have provided a careful report on and analysis of materials uncovered in a bluff shelter on the Ozark uplift in Delaware County, Oklahoma, located in a hollow flanking the Neosho River. The cultures represented are similar to those found in other shelters in the same hollow, primarily Woodland and Neosho. In nearby areas a series of sites range from Archaic to late Creek. Also nearby are some of the largst Hopewellian (Woodland) villages in the county.

The authors are meticulous in detail, and give scrupulous attention to artifact typology. This sort of thing is essential for professional archeological scholarship, but is not attractive to the lay reader—nor is it intended to be.

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[1] Dr. Sherman P. Lawton is President of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society, and is Co-ordinator of Broadcasting Instruction in the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.—Ed.

Bone, ash and artifacts were found in several excavated squares, sometimes to a depth as great as 76 inches. Although the depth of materials representing the two cultures varied in the different excavations, the relationship was consistent, and there appeared to be a possible overlap of the cultures in time.

Six burials were crowded between a rock slab and the wall of the shelter, and there was a nearby infant burial. With one of the skeletons was an inverted grinding bowl in the hollow of which was a large number of insect larvae, possibly as a food offering. With another skeleton were fragments of twill-plaited matting of split cane. Pottery sherds and a small triangular projectile points with the burials were probably accidental rather than intentional grave furniture.

Four separate fire-beds at different depths suggested different periods of occupation.

All of the projectile points recovered were of chert, frequently varicolored. The dart points included Gary, Langtry, Snyder and Fairland, some that were Afton-like, and some not classified; for example, a few specimens with barbed points were similar to Williams. A new type, with a bulbous stem and slender, elongated blade was discovered and named the Cupp point. In addition, a number of triangular and small points were found. One eccentric looked like a modified Gary.

Large, ovate-acuminate knives, diamond-beveled knives (Harahey), knives with distinct bases, ovate scrapers, stemmed scrapers, and stone drills were recovered.

Food-preparation materials included flat slab grinding basins, some with rounded depressions. One flat slab had five rounded holes, just about the right size for holding nuts while being cracked; nutting stones were fairly common. Manos, hammerstones and sandstone shaft smoothers were among the lithic artifacts.

One fragment of a boatstone was found at a 16" depth. Two pieces of hematite were recovered.

Bone artifacts included: ulna, rib and cannonbone awls; reamers; worked deer mandible; bison scapula tools; antler and ulna flakers; shaft wrenches.

Some perforated deer phalanges could have been used as counters in games, as rests for the bases of drills or awls, or even as decorative pieces to be strung. Two sections of deer antler were described as "bracelets."

A number of turtle shell bowls and mussel shell scrapers were of interest.

Ceramic evidence included 1102 sherds and three partial vessels. The Woodland types were mingled with Neosho types at several middle levels.

Because the Woodland material was mostly associated with hunting or leather-work activities, the authors believe that this shelter was used primarily as a hunting camp by the Woodland people; this would

be consistent with the existence of Woodland village sites in the county. More complete Neosho materials suggest a complete year-round living cycle, and the shelter was probably used as a family residence during at least one of the periods of occupation.

In the 1930's a number of excavations of prehistoric sites in eastern Oklahoma were made by WPA workers. This cave reported by Miss Freeman was, like the bluff shelter described in the review above, one of the WPA projects.

The cave was located on the west side of Woodland Hollow, along a stream which led to the Neosho River, about a mile downstream.

The mouth of the cave was about 27 feet in width, and the opening extended about 40 feet into the bluff. The floor surface, before excavation, was from five to eleven feet below the ceiling, and the deposit at the front of the cave was five feet deep.

Unfortunately, pot-hunters had dug in the cave on at least one occasion, and the site was so disturbed that no stratigraphy could be relied on to establish a time sequence. Two ash lenses at different levels suggest at least two occupations. However, all of the material except a single pot-sherd could be ascribed to the Neosho focus, which indicates that occupation did not start as early as in the bluff shelter described above. The cave contained most of the same kinds of materials reported from the bluff shelter and, though the artifacts were sparse, there were some additional items. For example, there were Ellis dart points, some small notched triangular arrowheads, a bone head, a bone tube, a pottery pipe, a slightly broken celt and some notched rib and ulna pieces commonly called "rasps."

Pictures of manos which were found look as though some were also used as fire-stones, and some as nutting stones.

A single burial of a 21-25 year old male had no grave associated material.

Because of the paucity of material Miss Freeman suggests that the cave was probably a hunting camp. However, most of the materials for year-round living seem to have been present. An appendix by Aaron Elkins analyzes the skeletal material.

"Salvage Archaeology in Oklahoma," James B. Shaeffer, *Archives of Archaeology,* Vol. 11 (University of Wisconsin Press. $2.25).

This volume includes four papers by Shaeffer, based on his work as archaeologist for the Oklahoma Archaeological Salvage Project.

The first report describes field survey work in the Fort Sill Military Reservation, in an attempt to map out the locations of sites within the confines of the Reservation. The survey was somewhat handicapped by inability to examine land within the impact of area of the fort's artillery. However, parts or all of seven drainages were examined, and 15 sites were located in a stream-edge distance of 30 miles.

Shaeffer and Fort Sill military authorities had expected to locate

a large number of historic Indian village sites, since Plains and Wichita people are known to have used this area during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

One of the most interesting results of the work is the evidence that most of the sites in the reservation are prehistoric, some of them probably very old. One type of evidence is the number of stone hearths which occur throughout much of the region; nothing like them was ever reported for Plains or Wichita groups, though they are known to be associated with earlier cultures. Another definitive element is shell, which normally does not occur on later sites nor on the very early locations; thus the presence of shell can be a rough indicator of age. On the Fort Sill sites the presence of shell was consistent with other materials that might normally be expected with it.

A unique opportunity was presented by this project, since the artifacts range from prehistoric Indian to modern white.

On East Cache Creek, 32 sites were found, of which 12 showed no European contact. In most cases where white and Indian materials were mixed, they appeared to represent different time periods. Although large Plains Indian villages are known to have existed along this creek, none were located.

The Deer Creek-Medicine Creek drainages yielded 39 sites; of thse 21 showed white contact; 8 showed no Indian material, although Chiricahua Apaches are known to have camped on some of them.

Blue Beaver Creek, which showed 20 sites, was apparently occupied during later periods. Ten were contact sites, and two lack any flint or quartzite evidence.

On Crater Creek only early sites were found, with a pre-dominance of quartzite over flint in a ratio of 3:1. Quartzite as an indicator of early occupation is a matter of debate, though Shaeffer and others have come to accept it as such, at least tentatively. This point is important in Shaeffer's discussion of "The Lawton Aspect," reviewed below.

In the West Cache-Quanah drainage Shaeffer and his field associates, Elmer Craft and James A. Marler, found one of the few large Indian sites discovered during the survey as well as a large site with abundant white cultural features; this site is also known to have been occupied by Comanches during historic times.

On Post Oak Creek, which is not adapted to agriculture, quartzite was the dominant lithic material.

Such pottery as was found suggests a Red River affiliation for the prehistoric groups rather than a Plains-Wichita relationship.

The entire project was limited to eighteen field days, so little excavation was done. It is possible that more test pits would have yielded further information.

Shaeffer gives detailed attention to the white artifact material,

and, where possible, dates such things as glass, china, buckles, buttons, mule-shoes, cartridges.

A valuable appendix lists the important dates of Indian history during the life of Fort Sill, including the last buffalo hunt and the last raid on whites by Indians.

The second of Shaeffer's papers deals with the Craig site, north of Nowata on the Verdigris River. Bulldozers removing dirt as part of a dam project exposed bones and artifact material which were called to the attention of the Oklahoma Archeological Salvage Project. A side about half a mile long and 300 feet in width had been largely destroyed. A large burial area had been completely removed. However, in the remaining undisturbed area it was possible to identify four stratified layers to a depth of twelve feet. These represented a considerable span of time, perhaps from 4-5000 years ago to 1000-1300 A.D.

The top level, about two feet deep, showed evidence of white occupation, or of modern Indians who had adopted white culture.

The next depth, Zone 2, was about four feet in thickness. This level yielded small to medium dart points, manos and bone tools, burned house wattle, one potsherd, beaver teeth, five burials and two varieties of hearths. The date of this level was put at late Archaic, although the sherd, small points and wattles suggest that perhaps the culture overlapped into the beginnings of a later horizon.

With the burials were bone awls and a turtle-back mano. With an adult male burial 81 items were found, including bone awls, bone spatulate instruments, hematite, yellow ochre, a flaker, scrapers, a drill or knife, a sandstone abrader and, an unusual feature, painted sandstone fragments.

Hearths formed of flat rocks, with many shells adjacent, suggested the locations of outside cooking areas, while small firepits indicated the probability of fires for warmth within living structures.

In Zone 3, which had a depth of about two feet, there were large points or scrapers.

The bottom depth, in hard, clay-mixed soil, was about four feet deep, and yielded heavy scrapers, gouges and planes. The tools were made of a limestone-like rock, and there was evidence of the use of quartzite. The type and workmanship, as well as the level, suggested considerable antiquity. Here, too, at a ten-foot depth, were the bottoms of postholes of a structure which was almost certainly associated with one of the later cultures, and indicated a house about 23 by 26 feet in area.

From the earth disturbed by the bull-dozers other items were recovered. These included abraders, large stone discs which might have been used as covers for pots or baskets, slab metates, a pounder, stone awls, a stone axe, stone balls with depressions on one side, a possible celt, choppers, a hammerstone and scrapers.

The third report in this volume concerns the Hubbard Site, five miles southeast of Elk City on Elk Creek. When the creek overflowed its banks and washed away the surface of an adjoining rise,

some bones and the outlines of pits were exposed. Twelve of the pits were excavated, but yielded little material, since only the bottoms of them remained. In one was a dog burial. Other bone remnants on or near the surface represented three human burials. Material included bones of bison, deer, dog and tortoise. Flint flakes were mostly from a quarry near Amarillo. Affiliation of the site seemed to be with people farther west, and it was suggested that there was a relationship with what is known as the Optima focus.

This study, the last paper in this series, is somewhat speculative, and describes and analyzes a prehistoric culture in which crude workmanship and the extensive use of quartzite are characteristic. The culture is named for this reviewer, since much of the original field work was done by him. Shaeffer's work added information and helped convince him that a previously unrecognized and unidentified prehistoric culture existed in Oklahoma. It is this culture which he calls the "Lawton Aspects." He calls attention to similarities to the Trinity and Clear Fork cultures in Texas, and the Cochise aspect in Arizona, and notes certain differences in workmanship, types of tools, and lithic materials which were used.

In essence, Shaeffer hypothesizes that the Lawton and Clear Fork aspects merged at the Red River, with the Clear Fork being the older culture. He further suggests that these cultures represent a degeneration or deculturation of earlier Paleo-Indian groups who made fine tools of flint, and who lived at the time of early faunal forms, such as the Bison Taylorii. With the disappearance of these early buffalo, perhaps 8-10,000 years ago, a deculturation took place which resulted in the cultures represented by the Lawton aspect. It may be assumed that when the Bison appeared on the plains at a later date, new developments in projectile points and living habits took place. It is well established that at this time various Woodland people moved out on the plains and began a new way of life.

As Shaeffer notes, further field information is needed.

"Rockshelter in Northeastern Oklahoma," Joan E. Freeman, *Archives of Archaeology,* Vol. 8 (University of Wisconsin Press. $2.00).

This report concerns another of the WPA excavations, a rock shelter once a mile and a half from the Neosho River, but now under the water of the Lake of the Cherokees. The site was about 200 feet long, under a 20 foot overhang of rock. The front portion had been graded away when a road was cut through the area.

The materials recovered are very similar to those of the other sites reported in this review, but were greater both in number and variety. For instance, there were more than 50 Gary points, about 80 Langtrys, 80 Coopers and about 30 points which were "Snyder-like." Other types included Fairland, Cupp, Smith, Lange, Grand, Huffaker, Alba, and others. All were made of chert, much of it probably Boone Chert.

Some pottery, considered Woodland, was grit-tempered, and other

pottery, classed as Neosho was largely shell-tempered. Points such as Cooper, Type B, Langtry, Type A, "Snyders-like" and certain barbed types occurred only with the Woodland type pottery.

Since the Woodland materials were those needed only for hunting and skin preparation, Freeman thinks the shelter was used only as a hunting camp by the Woodland people. The Neosho materials were more varied, including mussel shells, seeds and grinding stones, whose basins look somewhat deeper than in those recovered from other sites in the area. Freeman believes that the shelter was a permanent residence area for Neosho people.

Apparently the human burials were carelessly gathered. However, Freeman was able to identify three burials, one with two individuals. The latter contained a bowl, an abrader, and shell beads.

The usual variety of stone tools and weapons were present, including a notched knife. The shell artifacts, too, were similar to those from other Neosho sites. The pottery included two fragments of pottery pipes.

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING APRIL 27, 1961

Members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the Board of Directors Room at 10:30 a. m. on Thursday, April 27, 1961, with President George H. Shirk, presiding.

The following Board Members answered roll call: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Dr. Wayne L. Johnson, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Mr. George H. Shirk. Members absent were: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge J. G. Cliff, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Mr. Exall English, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle. Motion was made by Miss Seger that members who so requested be excused. The motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips and adopted.

A list of new life members and new annual members was presented by the Administrative Secretary. He also named a number of items that had been given to the Society during the past quarter. It was moved by Mr. McBride and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the gifts be accepted and applicants be elected to membership. The motion was adopted. The Administrative Secretary pointed out that the Minutes of the last meeting of the Board reflected that six persons were elected to Life Membership, whereas only five names were listed; and that the sixth name should have been included, Bill R. Clark.

Mrs. Bowman gave the Treasurer's report which showed total cash receipts for the quarter of $2,613.46, total disbursements for the quarter of $1,231.81, with total cash on hand as of March 31, 1961, of $5,534.93. The Membership Endowment Fund cash balance in the City National Bank and Trust Company was $106.85, and with the deposit being made on April 27, 1961, will be $618.15. The Life Membership Endowment Fund in the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association was $900.00, and with the deposit being made on April 27, 1961, will be $1,400.00. Mrs. Bowman said that bonds of a face value of $17,500 are in safekeeping for the Life Membership Endowment Fund at the First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City.

President Shirk called for a report of the Legislative Committee. Co-Chairmen McBride and Busby, along with Mr. Phillips, told of work that had been done by the committee. It was brought out that the Historical Society appropriation bill had passed the House of Representatives with all of the items exactly for the amounts specified for the previous biennium. This totaled $94,000 annually. It was further pointed out that the bill is now before the Senate and that the Legislative Committee of the Society will attempt to get various items increased when the Senate holds a hearing on the Society's bill. Some discussion was had concerning various staff salaries. the thought was expressed by members of the Legislative Committee that certain salary increases might be made if under State fiscal affairs all departments of State government are given additional funds.

In reporting on the microfilm work, Mr. Phillips, Chairman of the Microfilm Committee, stated that the new microfilm vault had been completed and that it was one of the most modern to be found anywhere. Mr. Phillips said that a new microfilm reproduction machine had also been installed. He said this machine would reproduce microfilm pages to approximate regular newspaper page size. He further reported that an

additional microfilm camera had been installed which in time should enable the Society to double its production.

Dr. Morrison reported on the activities of the Historic Sites Committee. He reported scarcely any progress had been made on acquisition of the Fort Washita site because the owners of the property were asking a rather high price; that a large granite marker at Fort Cobb had recently been installed and that the City of Fort Cobb was planning to landscape the grounds surrounding it; and that arrangements were being made to care for weed and grass cutting at all Historical Society properties throughout the state.

Dr. Johnson said that he felt that the Oklahoma Historical Society had been the catalyst which had much to do with bringing about the moving of the birthplace home of Will Rogers by the Planning and Resources Board. The moving of this building was made necessary by the water being backed up by the Oologah dam.

Statement was made by Dr. Johnson that he had visited the Garland Cemetery and the Old Chief's House, both sites of which are owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said that a wonderful job was being done in the restoration of the old Chief's House and in keeping of the grounds at Garland Cemetery.

Marking of the place where the Oklahoma Historical Society was founded at Kingfisher was discussed. Mrs. Bowman said that a group of Kingfisher citizens was interested in putting up a marker at the site of the old building in which the Oklahoma Historical Society was founded. Considerable discussion was had among the members of the Board as to what type of marker would be appropriate. It was the consensus of opinion that the Society should cooperate with the Kingfisher group in working out plans for properly commemorating the birthplace of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

President Shirk said that considerable progress was being made on putting an additional floor in the library "canyon." He stated that by the time of the next Board meeting he thought the steel work would all be completed and the floor laid. It was pointed out that this would almost double the stack space for the Library. President Shirk said that Mr. R. W. Robberson was donating the steel and the local labor costs would come to about $2,380.00. He pointed out that the Board had authorized the transfer of $2,000.00 out of the Microfilm fund to take care of this item. He said he felt that it was the consensus of the Board that the spending of an additional $380.00 was agreeable.

Mr. Fraker said that the Society was tremendously indebted to President Shirk for the work he had done in getting the additional floor. He remarked that the work President Shirk had done in making arrangements for the installation of the floor was saving the Society several thousands of dollars.

Completion of the restoration work on the stage coach was announced by President Shirk. He said that it would take a professional mover to get it placed in the Historical Society Building, but that he was certain the job would be completed within a short time.

A letter of resignation from the Board of Directors from Mr. Exall English was presented. Various members of the Board expressed regret at English's finding it necessary to resign. On motion of Dr. Harbour and second of Mr. Phillips, the resignation of Mr. English from the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was, with regret, accepted.

A motion was made by Dr. Harbour that the speech made by Judge Edward Box at the Annual Meeting eulogizing Judge Baxter Taylor be printed in *The Chronicles*. This motion was seconded by Miss Seger and unanimously adopted when put.

Mr. Fraker brought up the topic of rental charges on the auditorium. He said that at the present time the rental for one night or day was $17.50, with $12.50 going to the Society and $5.00 going to the janitor who was on duty. He said that he thought this was too small an amount for the janitors. After some discussion, Mr. Muldrow moved that the total charge for each time the auditorium is used be $25.00, with $15.00 going to the Society and $10.00 to the janitor. The motion was seconded by Dr. Dale and unanimously adopted.

Inasmuch as the question of use of the Library stacks had been brought up at the Annual Meeting, that problem was taken under consideration by the Board. Mr. Phillips suggested that the matter be referred to the Library Committee. President Shirk said that he concurred in this idea and that the Library Committee had been appointed to handle such problems. He further stated that in keeping with such procedure the matter would be referred to the Library Committee.

The attention of the Board was brought by President Shirk to the fact that the death of Judge Taylor had not only created a vacancy on the Board, but that inasmuch as Judge Taylor was a vice-president of the Society, his passing had left a vacancy on the Executive Committee. President Shirk said that he felt that this vacancy on the Executive Committee should be filled at this time by the election of a Second Vice-President. After this statement, President Shirk opened the meeting for nominations for Second Vice-President of the Society. Mr. Fisher Muldrow was nominated by Mr. Phillips. Dr. Johnson moved that the nominations be closed and that Mr. Muldrow be elected by acclamation. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion which was put and carried unanimously.

Judge Busby presented and moved the adoption of a memorial resolution expressing regret at the death of Kelly Brown, Esquire, a member of the Board of Directors.

> Whereas, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society are this day saddened by the absence of Kelly Brown whose services have been invaluable to this Society throughout the years,
>
> Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society goes on record expressing its deep appreciation of his outstanding contributions in the past as a member and director; and further that a copy of this be included in the official minutes of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and that a copy be furnished his family.

The President appointed Mr. Joe McBride to the vacancy on the Executive Committee created by the election of Mr. Muldrow to the office of Second Vice-President.

It was suggested by President Shirk that the filling of the vacancies created by the deaths of Judge Baxter Taylor and Mr. Kelly Brown be deferred until the next Board meeting as a token of respect to these two men.

A motion was made by Mr. Fisher Muldrow and seconded by Dr. Harbour that in the case of the death of a member of the Board of Directors that the office of the Society notify all members of the Board of such death as soon as possible.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the meeting, adjournment was had at 12:10 p. m.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED - APRIL 25, 1961

LIBRARY:

Will Rogers—P. J. O'Brien
"La Reina, Los Angeles in Three Centuries"
Oklahoma Scrap Book
File of clippings on Will Rogers
2 Photographs of Will Rogers
File of Oklahoma historical clippings
Donor: Miss Helen Biggers in memory of her parents Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Biggers, Oklahoma City

"The Brown Family in America"
"Cones Family History in America"
Donor: Ralph Hudson, Oklahoma State Library

Macon County Missouri Will Records 1838-1880 - Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry
Donor: Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry, Chillicothe, Missouri

7 Programs of Guthrie's '89er Celebration, 1939
1 Program "Oklahoma City's Golden Jubilee 1889-1939 Pioneer Woman Day"
Donor: Mrs. C. C. Cook, Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

3 Ledgers from *State Industrial School for Girls,* Tecumseh, Oklahoma
Donor: Mrs. Al Flournoy, Oklahoma City

Records of New Kent County, Virginia, Volume 1
Donor: Mrs. Dayton Royse, Oklahoma City

File of Indian Sign Language cards
Donor: Frank Finney, Oklahoma City

Mayan Studies—Edited by Benjamin Elson

A Guide to Regional Manuscript Collections in the Division of Manuscripts University of Oklahoma Library—A. M. Gibson
Donor: University of Oklahoma Library

1860 Micro-film Census of Kentucky: Taylor-Woodford County
Donor: Mrs. D. E. Phillips, Chandler

The Genealogies of John Peter Bermann and His Wife Priscilla Catherine Twogood
Donor: Sherman Lee Pompey, Warrensburg, Missouri.

"The Smith Family"
"The Cox Famiy"
3 issues of the *Heston Historian*
Donor: Mrs. Frank Grass, Oklahoma City

Grandfather's Story of His Life—Tom Pexton
Donor: Tom Pexton, Oklahoma City

Nicholas Bean and Some of His Descendants—Lee Calvin Tarble
Donor: Mrs. Betty L. Turner, Marshall, Illinois

"Oklahoma Poetry" February, 1961
Donor: Leslie A. McRill, Oklahoma City

"Valley Forge Yesterday and Today"
Donor: Claude L. Hensley, Oklahoma City

The Maryland Germans—Dieter Cunz
Donor: The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland
"Letter to a Grandson" An Eyewitness Account of the Cherokee Strip Opening—Marion Thomas Embree
Donor: Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe, Ohio
"The Benton County Pioneer" November, 1960
Donor: Mrs. Clarence Ross, Liberal, Kansas
80 copies of Southwest Oklahoma Production Pipe Line Reports
Donor: Robert L. Atkins, Humble Oil Company

MUSEUMS:

Pictures:
J. W. and Buck Eldereig
Oscar Coffelt and pet buffalo
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma
Group Picture, Bacon Rind, Frank Frantz, Chee-she-bunky
Donor: F. M. Hieronymus
Farm House, Cimarron County
Cimarron County Dust Bowl
Farm Home in Dust Bowl
Contours near Elk City
Tractor in Dust Bowl
Grader in Dust Bowl
Farm of O. W. Tucker shows Dr. H. H. Bennett
Farm House and Barn near Stillwater
Farmers building terraces near Boley
Donor: T. Bone McDonald
William Chisholm, son of Jesse
Julia McLish Chisholm
Home of William and Julia McLish Chisholm
Julia Chisholm Davenport
A. E. Davenport, M. D.
Wedding picture of Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Davenport
Doughlas H. Johnston, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. W. H. C. Davenport
Home of Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Davenport, Oklahoma
Home of Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Davenport, Mt. Vernon, Texas
Home of Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Davenport, Ada, Oklahoma
Julia Davenport
Dr. A. E. Davenport
Donor: Juanita Johnston Smith, 214 N. E. 7th Street, Oklahoma City
Ranch Home of Alinton Telle near Atoka
Scene at the Telle Ranch
Home of Alinton Telle, Atoka
Donor: Mrs. Helen Folsom, 1403 Bixby, Ardmore, Oklahoma
Charcoal drawing of a Cherokee Graveyard
Charcoal drawing of the Cherokee National Prison
Donor: Mrs. M. M. Williamson, 2010 Elmhurst, Oklahoma City
Oil Painting, Portrait of a Lady, by Eraldo Carugati
Donor: Fred Schonwald, 6507 Hillcrest, Oklahoma City

EXHIBIT:

Car Tag Oklahoma 1960, No. 1773
Donor: George H. Shirk
Five Homestead Certificates issued at El Reno

Seven Certificates of Capital Stock issued at Weatherford in 1908
Donor: Gorden Wilks, 5015 North Western, Oklahoma City
United States Flag with 46 Stars
Donor: Mrs. Edmond J. O'Reilly, 17 Johnston Ave., Kingston, N. Y.
Four Record Books of the Russell Home for Girls
Donor: Mrs. Al Flournoy, 1008 N. W. 18th St., Oklahoma City
Doll's Chair made of hickory in 1860 by Tom Casey
Donor: Beauchamp Family (Mrs. Leslie Ramey, 808 Northeast 36th Street, Oklahoma City)
Sword, Knights of Pythias
Sword, Knights Templar
Buggy Whip
Foot Warmer
Riding Crop
Brace
Plane
Pulley
Rubber Horse Shoes
Tobacco Cutter
Broad Axe
Four Miners Lamps
Two Ear Phones (Hearing Aids)
World War I Helmet
Cow Bell
Three pieces of barbed wire
Buggy Wrench
Barbed Wire Stretchers
Ice Skates
Round Mouse Trap
Silver key winding watch
Three Hat Pins
Curling Iron for horse's mane
Brass Knuckles
Slate Pencils
Folding Button Hook
Wooden Ox Yoke
Two Curling Irons
Rabbit Plane
Pliers
Blacksmith Tool
Two Cabbage Cutters
Button Fastener
Hand Augur
Fluter
Three Trade Tokens (.50 - .05 - .10)
Donor: Clifford Godfrey, Waynoka, Oklahoma
Hypodermic Case (silver) and Pocket Medicine Case used by I. W. Folsom, M.D.
Donor: Mrs. Helen Folsom, 1403 Bixby, Ardmore, Oklahoma
Car Tag Oklahoma 1925
Car Tag Oklahoma 1926
Donor: James McLaughlin, Orlando, Oklahoma
Bullet Mold
Stone Axe
Donor: Kenneth Hood, Route No. 5, Shawnee, Oklahoma
Collection of old Medical Instruments (57 pieces)
Donor: Mrs. Edith Cavett, Loyal, Oklahoma

UNION ROOMS:

Oak and glass display case for the Lincoln Chair
Donor: Oklahoma-Texas Department of the Daughters of Union Veterans

NEW MEMBERS

QUARTER FOR JANUARY 26, 1961 TO APRIL 27, 1961

New Life Members

Mrs. Kenneth Kiester	Duncan, Oklahoma
Mrs. Walter V. Buxton	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
*Bill R. Clark	" " "
R. A. Hefner IV	" " "
L. D. Lacy	" " "

New Annual Members

Charles C. Semple	Caddo, Oklahoma
Carl D. Krivohlaveh	Chelsea, Oklahoma
Donald L. Eggeman	Claremore, Oklahoma
George E. Jenkins	Duncan, Oklahoma
A. B. Oakes	" "
Randy Hendricks	Healdton, Oklahoma
Johnny Cudd	McAlester, Oklahoma
Don Bankston	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Mortimer Schwartz	Norman, Oklahoma
Kenneth Lee Emenhiser	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Victor E. Harlow, Jr.	" " "
Frederick J. Hoyt	" " "
Vivian C. Richardson	" " "
Awanda Scheer	" " "
Mrs. Ruth M. Stanley	Perkins, Oklahoma
A. L. Langenkamp	Sand Springs, Oklahoma
Aaron M. Mixon, Jr.	Spiro, Oklahoma
Oscar Fontaine	Tulsa, Oklahoma
G. H. Galbreath	" "
Alma Holton Moeller	" "
Harold A. Vinson	" "
David E. Ratledge	Watonga, Oklahoma
Mrs. J. P. Harder	Wynnewood, Oklahoma
Dora N. Butler	Oxnard, California
Mrs. Lucie C. Price	Austin, Texas
Stanley W. Hoig	Houston, Texas
William A. Mudge	Kenosha, Wisconsin

*Elected January 26, 1961

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Muriel H. Wright, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Joe W. McBride
R. G. Miller
Edward Everett Dale
H. Milt Phillips
Berlin B. Chapman
Elmer L. Fraker

Autumn, 1961

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COVER: The front cover shows a view of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building erected and dedicated with a great, open house reception in December, 1930. This building is located about two blocks southeast of the State Capitol, on Lincoln Boulevard, Oklahoma City.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: A REVIEW IN 1905

By William P. Campbell

Introduction

The Oklahoma Historical Society was the subject of a review of its founding and progress, its properties and lists of donors of gifts, newspapers, records and other items in its collection, written by William P. Campbell, Custodian, and published in 1905.[1] No report of the Society in the fifty-three years since that time has been as complete for the simple reason that the typewritten pages of such a report if laid end to end would have reached across the state within the twenty-five year period ending in 1930. This year saw the Oklahoma Historical Society's collections housed in the handsome new building near the State Capitol, which still stands as one of the most beautiful buildings in all the country dedicated to the preservation of the history of a State and its People.

The housing of the Society's collections in the new Historical Building was followed by a ten-page pamphlet on "History of the Oklahoma Historical Society," written by Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn and reported by Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Vice President of the Society, published in 1930. Some seven years later, another pamphlet of sixteen pages, "The Oklahoma Historical Society," by Dr. Grant Foreman was published.[2] For the first time since 1905, Dr. Foreman outlined the different departments as they had developed, giving a brief sketch of the holdings and the work in each. By this time, a complete history

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[1] A special meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held at Kingfisher on May 28, 1923 to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Society, convening at the Central Hotel, in which the Society was organized on May 27, 1893, at that time known as the "Johnson House." Mr. C. P. Wickmiller, the well known official photographer of Payne's "Oklahoma Colony" days in the early 1880's, was toastmaster at the luncheon at the anniversary meeting. Hon. George L. Bowman gave the address of welcome to the members of the Society, visiting Kingfisher, in which he paid tribute to Mr. William P. Campbell as the *real founder* of the Oklahoma Historical Society who had devoted his life to its growth and success.—*Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. I, No. 3 (June, 1923), p. 278.

[2] Copies of these two pamphlets giving a history and a report on the Oklahoma Historical Society are on file in the Library. There is also on file a rare copy of William P. Campbell's second report published in pamphlet form, *Oklahoma Historical Society, Custodian's Report 1907-08, Transaction and Accessions, November 16, 1907 to December 31, 1908,* covering 23 pages. Only the accessions of historical materials since statehood are listed in this report, including books and other publications, curios, relics and photographs.

of a single department would make a book. For instance, the catalogue of the original documents on the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Archives alone covered four volumes of approximately 3,500 manuscript pages by 1934. Shortly afterward, another catalogue of 100 manuscript pages was compiled listing the original records on the western Indian tribes that had been filed in the Archives.

The nucleus of material around which the Oklahoma Historical Society was founded and has grown is its Newspaper Department, now comprising over 30,000 bound volumes that include the first newspaper published in Oklahoma as early as 1844. An adequate report on this Department would form another long manuscript based on data from the hundreds of thousands of index cards and the lists of the newspapers typed from time to time through the years. A complete report would include an account of the microfilming of state newspapers, both contemporary and back volumes, on two of the latest type microfilm machines on the market, recently purchased for the Department and now operated by a staff of four persons. There is a very fine "Thermafax" copying machine which can reproduce copies from microfilm full size as well as copies of other materials. There are also three readers available to researchers. The excellent organization of this work in the Newspaper Department and the proper filing of materials besides the installation of a specially constructed vault for the preservation of microfilm rolls have been made through the co-operation of the Oklahoma Press Association and the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

This brief introduction to the early history of the Society can no more than touch upon the Library and the Museum today. The Library has approximately 28,000 volumes, many of them rare first editions, besides thousands of other items including rare pamphlets, original letters and manuscripts and other materials relating to the history of the American Indians, early explorations and expeditions and pioneer settlers, which make this one of the finest research centers in the country. The Museum covers more than one-third of the floor space in the Historical Building, its exhibits illustratng the field of history relating to Indian and to white settlement, with wonderful artifacts and relics from archaeological discoveries in this region as well as relics from pioneer white settlers, totaling upward of 15,000 rare, exhibit materials and 30,000 original photographs of historic characters and scenes besides a number of rare paintings and some statuary. The Museum exhibits are the center of interest to the visiting public, thousands of persons,—children and students from schools over the state and adjoining states as well as interested visitors from all parts of the World—,passing

through the corridors during the year, to the main galleries and memorial rooms where they can see the displays of marvelous relics out of Oklahoma's past, some dating back more than ten centuries.

The close of the year 1961 is marked by a great achievement with the publication of the Cumulative Index of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* the Historical Society's quarterly, covering thirty-seven volumes from the printing of its first number in 1921 to Volume XXXVII in 1959. The Cumulative Index comprises something in the nature of a report on *The Chronicles* as a source of history in this region, found in the hundreds of articles and reports that have appeared in its pages, under the direction and work of its different editors and members of the Publication Committee through the period of forty-one years.[3]

William P. Campbell's report on the beginnings of the Society, published by the Noble County Sentinel Press in 1905, at Perry, Oklahoma is a rare pamphlet recently brought to light in the Library collections and reprinted here in full.[4] In some instances, annotations are added editorially to this report.

—*The Editor*

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[3] The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in its meeting held on May 6, 1920, provided for the publication of a quarterly magazine named *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* The first issue appeared as Volume I, No. 1, in January 1921. In the meeting of the Board on May 6 1920, Dr. James S. Buchanan, Professor of History in the University of Oklahoma, was appointed as first editor of the magazine, and Edward E. Dale, Assistant Professor of History in the University, as associate editor. The name of the magazine was changed to "The Chronicles of Oklahoma" in 1936, first appearing in the December issue (Vol. XIV, No. 4). Today (1961), a distinguished member of the Publication Committee, still active as an advisor in producing *The Chronicles,* is Dr. Edward E. Dale, Dean of Oklahoma historians, and noted author of many books on the history of the Southwest.

Two periodicals were forerunners of *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* both published by William P. Campbell, Custodian of the Historical Society, as a personal contribution without an editorial committee or financial backing: The first was *Mistletoe Leaves,* the first issue dated August 5, 1893, and the last issue, late in 1895. The second magazine was *Historia,* its first issue dated September 15, 1909, and the last issue appearing in July, 1922.—Angie Debo, "Early Publications of the Oklahoma Historical Society," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948); and Esther Witcher, "Territorial Magazines," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951-52).

[4] An expression of appreciation on the life of "William Parker Campbell," signed by Thomas H. Doyle, Jessie E. Moore and Joseph B. Thoburn, appeared in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. II, No. 2 (June, 1924), following the death of Mr. Campbell at the home of his son, Wayne Campbell, in Oklahoma City, on Sunday, May 4, 1924.

Illustrations used in this review of the Oklahoma Historical Society for 1905 are from the collection of photographs in the files of the Historical Society Museum (1961).

Oklahoma City,
Oklahoma
Review of Inception and Progress;
Accessions and Donors,
Historic Papers.

NOBLE COUNTY SENTINEL PRINT.
1905,
Perry, Oklahoma

SUMMARY

BOUND PUBLICATIONS

Oklahoma,	1,292
Indian Territory,	294
Foreign,	145
Total,	1,731

ON SHELVES AND BEING RECEIVED.

Oklahoma,	331
Indian Territory,	189
Foreign,	18
Total,	538

DEAD PUBLICATIONS ON SHELVES

Oklahoma,	53
Indian Territory,	46
Total,	99
Stray Copies,	101
National Editorial Association Publications,	186

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12. Accessions, General
13. Bound Volumes, Governmental
14. Publications, Oklahoma.

15. Publications, Indian Territory.
16. Publications, Stray.
17. Publications, Foreign.
18. Publications, National Editorial Association.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Oklahoma City, Okla.
November 2nd, 1905.

LINCOLN MCKINLAY,
President Oklahoma Historical Society:

SIR:—In pursuance of instructions by the board of directors of this society at its meeting, June 2nd, 1905, I am pleased to submit herewith review of the inception, progress and accessions of this society. I have omitted fixed properties, financial affairs and numberless small items of the collections such as souvenirs, pamphlets not bearing directly upon the history of Oklahoma, and sample copies of magazines from various states. Changes in the management of publications of the Territories are so frequent that errors as to management of some at this date are probable.

Respectfully,
WILLIAM P. CAMPBELL,
Custodian.

EXPLANATORY.

In regard to the custodians, beginning on page 8, it should read that Marion Rock became custodian January 1, 1902, and served until April 1, 1903, at which date Sidney Clarke became custodian, serving until November 30, 1903. Marion Rock, assisting. December 1, 1903, Marion Rock assumed duties of custodian remaining until June 1, 1904.[5]

Under the head of "Publications—Oklahoma," beginning on page 59, is meant that all publications under that heading are now coming to the collection, and where years are given (in figures), the publications for those years are bound. The same is true under headings "Oklahoma Publications—Discontinued," beginning on page 68; "Publications—Indian Territory," beginning on page 74; "Indian Territory Publications—Discontinued," beginning on page 79.

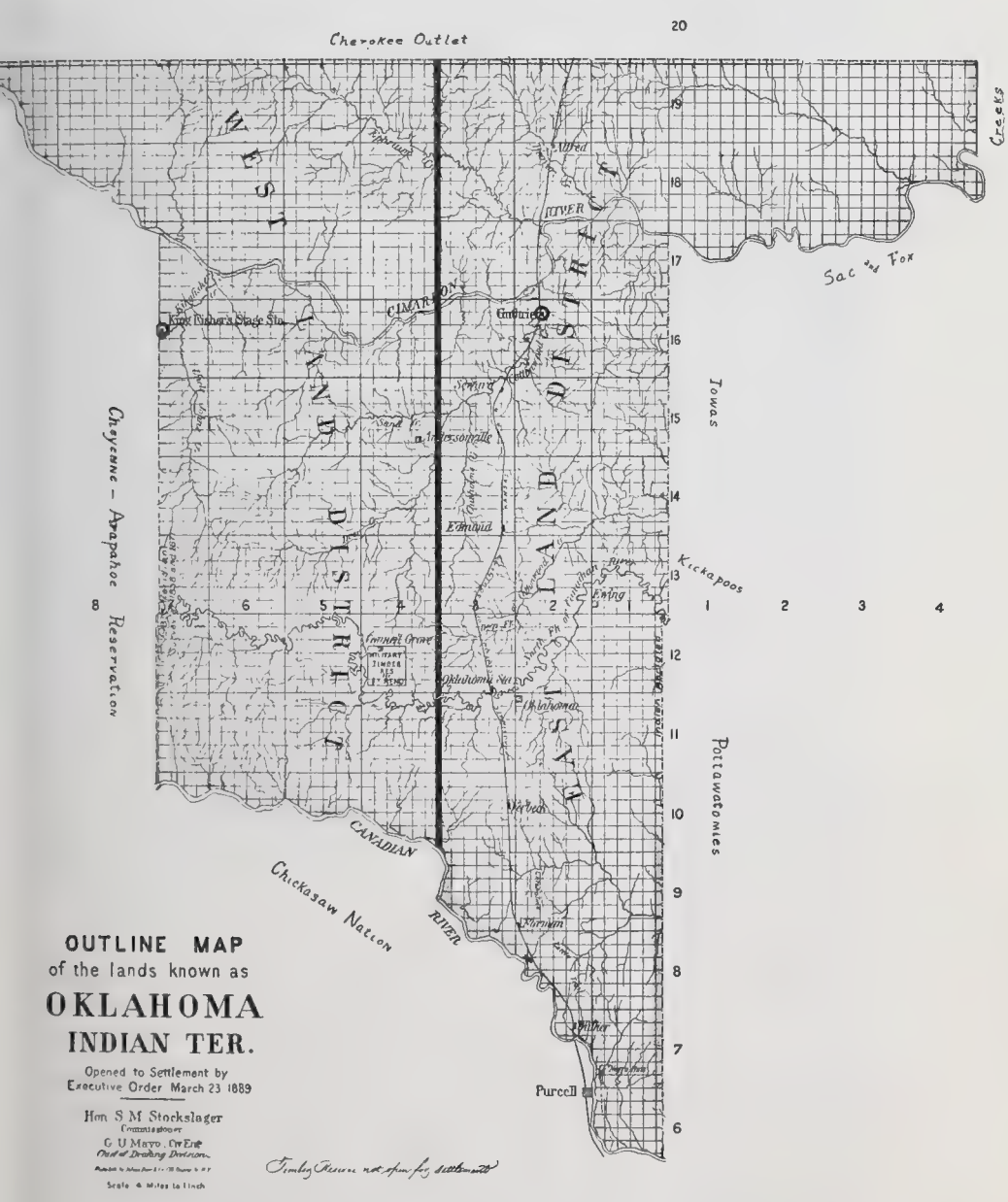
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE INITIATIVE.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY had its inception with the editors of the Territory at their annual meeting at Kingfisher, May 27, 1893. The city was in rich decking and

[5] Marion Tuttle Rock, author of *Illustrated History of Oklahoma* (1890). These references are found in this reprint, respectively: pp. 6, 68, 76, 79.

The Oklahoma of Eighty-Nine



ripe expectancy for the occasion and the opera house on Robberts avenue was in elaborate dressing. The forenoon session was presided over by J. L. Admire, of the Kingfisher Free Press, as president, and Mayor J. C. Robberts delivered an address of welcome in words of beauty and sentences of brief, yet replete with hearty sincerity. In turning the city over to the editors, Mayor Robberts said:

"It gives me pleasure to greet you and bid you welcome to Kingfisher—not because of the money we expect you to leave behind you, nor alone because of the benefits we expect to reap from the many good things you will say about our city and her people after you have returned to your homes; but, gentlemen, I greet you, and bid you a hearty welcome, for your own sakes and because of yourselves. We hear much of the wonderful growth of Oklahoma. Her praises are sung upon every hand. Her progress, morally, politically and financially is the astonishment of the whole world; and when we ourselves stop long enough to behold it, we are simply amazed. What has been done in four years has required a quarter of a century in all other states and territories of the Union. When we remember that only four years ago, by the simple tap of the bell or touch of the button, more than 60,000 people from every quarter of the globe were turned loose in a wilderness without law or precept to guide them, and that this condition of affairs lasted for more than a year, we wonder at the happy condition of things today. But when we remember the admonitions, the good councils, the entreaties, the solid shot of reasonable argument, the calm peace be still, all filled with kindred words of hope, coming day by day from the Oklahoma newspapers, seasoned and blessed with the words of hope and encouragement of the editors, then we appreciate what you have done for Oklahoma. And to you, gentlemen, we owe more than any other people, or class of people, for what we boast today. While our people are the most energetic, our fields the most fruitful, our editors are the brightest, the bravest and the best in all the world. For all these reasons, and more, again, gentlemen, I bid you a most hearty welcome to Kingfisher. The town is yours."

Frank McMasters responded in his unique and pleasing vein, but the record of his exact language is lost. The following members of the association were present:

Frank Greer, Guthrie State Capital; W. P. Thompson, Guthrie News; Frank Prouty, Guthrie Real Estate Exchange; John Golobie, Guthrie State Capital; E. E. Brown, Oklahoma City Times-Journal; Frank McMasters, Oklahoma City Gazette; Mr. Pitts, Guthrie Leader; J. B. Campbell, Hennessey Clipper; Reub Weesner, Hennessay Democrat; J. E. Quein, Edmond News; Mr. Owen, Edmond Sun; H. B. Gilstrap, Chandler News;

Miss Effie Gilstrap, Chandler News; C. E. Hunter, Okarche Times; Mr. Hummer, Okarche Times; C. F. Cook, Cloud Chief Sentinel; J. L. Admire, Kingfisher Free Press; Frank Purcell, Kingfisher Times; W. P. Campbell of Kingfisher.

Officers chosen for the ensuing year:

J. E. Quein, President; E. E. Brown, Vice President; Effie Gilstrap, Treasurer; Frank McMaster, Frank Greer, Frank Purcell, Executive Committee; W. P. Campbell, Frank Prouty and W. P. Thompson, Committee on World's Fair (Chicago) excursion.

At the evening session J. E. Quein read a paper on the "Newspaper as a Town Builder," and Frank Greer discussed "Legal Rates," which resulted in resolutions demanding the same for all public printing, and pledging members of the association to stand by the legal rate. At the conclusion of the program, W. P. Campbell stated that it had been his humble privilege to attend a meeting of Kansas editors at Manhattan on the 9th day of April, 1875, and aid in establishing the society which had preserved the newspapers of that state; that he hoped this meeting would do something to perpetuate its memory for all time. He therefore moved that the editors of Oklahoma form a Historical Society for the purpose of collecting and preserving files of all publications of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, and such other matters that may be deemed worthy of preservation for the future historian. The motion prevailed, and Mr. Campbell was chosen custodian.[6]

At night a banquet was given at the Johnson House with Vol Sayre as host. Frank McMaster was chosen toastmaster and led the genian feast with a toast to the President, and the menu was given digestive impulse by toasts in which practically all those present participated, including Governor A. J. Seay and Mayor J. C. Robberts.

Thus the editorial association meeting at Kingfisher, May 27, 1893, inaugurated the move from which has evolved the Oklahoma Historical Society as a Territorial Institution, outclassing in many of its features and value of its collections, like societies of a quarter century or more existence.

Two days after the editors adjourned the following "Circular No. 1" was issued and sent broadcast, especially among the press:

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[6] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (O.U. Press, 1937) lists old newspapers in this region. All Historical Society collections were moved from the Carnegie Library and housed in the State Capitol, 1917 to 1930.

OFFICE OF HISTORICAL CUSTODIAN

OKLAHOMA PRESS ASSOCIATION

KINGFISHER, OKLA., May 29, 1893

At their annual meeting in this city, May 27, the editors of Oklahoma created a department in connection with the association, to be called the Oklahoma Historical Society, of which the undersigned was selected as secretary and custodian to serve for the ensuing year.

The object in establishing this department is the collection of newspapers, books and periodicals, productions of art, science and literature, matters of historic interest, etc. It is especially desired that publishers send regularly two copies of their publications, to be filed, and bound at end of each year.

While this is designed as an Oklahoma institution, anything of the nature suggested will be thankfully received from any source, and will be given a proper place among the exhibits.

For the present, headquarters will be at Kingfisher, where a suitable building has been secured for the storage, safe care and proper exhibition of contributions.

Those feeling an interest in laying the permanent foundation for one of the most important institutions of Oklahoma, are requested to forward as early as possible and as often as they secure them any articles that may seem of historical interest, beautiful, instructive or curious. Address, prepaid.

W. P. CAMPBELL,
Historical Custodian,
Kingfisher, O.T.

Official Recognition

The first official recognition is contained in Governor Renfrow's message to the legislature of 1895, which reads:

"During May, 1893, the Oklahoma Editorial Association established a bureau known as the Historical Department of the Oklahoma Press Association. The special object of this bureau is the collection and preservation of newspapers and other publications of the Territory views, reports and general matter which may prove of information and historical interest. Mr. W. P. Campbell, the custodian, reports quite successful results from the work thus inaugurated. He has now, practically, files of all Territorial publications, including those which have been suspended or been merged. The importance of collecting and preserving inviolate this great source from which the future history of Oklahoma may be read and written, is a subject which ought to demand the attention of the Legislature to secure the permanency of such a bureau."

The next official recognition was through a concurrent resolution of the legislature of 1895 ordering a sufficient number of public documents of the territory to enable the custodian to make exchange with the various states and territories for like documents, and under this resolution the documents for that year were furnished. Up to this time, and subsequently until moved to Norman, the collection was furnished a room in the Kingfisher County court house through the kindness of J. B. Campbell, then register of deeds of that county, but now of Waukomis, and the work of making the collection and caring for it, including expenses, was met by the custodian.

Trustee of the Territory

A meeting of the editors of the territory had been called at Perry for February 13, 1895, with a view of procuring a charter and going before the legislature for aid in prosecuting the work of the society and maintaining its collection. However, on January 16 preceding this meeting, members of the faculty and students of the University at Norman, and citizens of that town, organized "The Oklahoma Historical Society," with a like purpose as that of the Press Association society, and January 21st procured a charter. The Norman people went at once before the legislature asking recognition, with Norman as the seat of their society. Under an agreement that the society should be maintained forever without aid from the territory, a bill passed the Upper House, but before it passed the Lower House the editorial meeting at Perry came off. At this meeting the collection was assigned to the custodian and he was placed at liberty to take such action as deemed necessary under the premises. A compromise was thereafter effected whereby the collection was to be moved to Norman, and an appropriation asked with which to maintain it the next two years, and the editors should forever have a controlling membership on the board. Under this compromise a bill passed both houses of the legislature and became a law, creating the Oklahoma Historical Society as the trustee of the Territory, and carrying with it an appropriation of $2,000. The collection was at once shipped to Norman and formed the nucleus of the collection which is now the pride of the territories, and which is larger and more valuable in historic wealth than contained in the collection of many of the states.

The statute creating the Society as trustee of the territory was approved by Governor Renfrow February 21, 1895, and provides that the Society shall be the trustee of the territory, with a board of directors to consist of as many members as the Society shall determine. The purposes of the Society are set forth substantially the same as those of the Press Association. One section provides that the Society shall receive from the territory a sufficient number of public documents of the territory

as may be necessary to make exchange with other states and territories for like documents. The press is given control on the board of directors.

July 10th, after the collection had been moved to Norman, Mr. Campbell retired as custodian, succeeded by W. T. Little, who, as a member of the legislature, had been influential in securiting the appropriation. Among the many valuable accessions during Mr. Little's custodianship were documents pertaining to Cimarron Territory.

Moved to Oklahoma City

The crowded condition of the University building at Norman made new quarters for the collection necessary; "and," quoting from the report of President McKinlay, of the Society for 1901-2, "what was more important, the necessity of fire proof rooms for the safe keeping of the rapidly increasing collections of the society, became very apparent. This fact has been since emphasized by the burning of the entire plant of one of the greatest newspapers of the territory, with all its back files; and had it not been for the Historical Society, which had these files in bound volumes, a very important history of Oklahoma would have been irrevocably lost." (It may be added that the removal of the collection was fortunate as the University building soon after burned with all its contents).

The legislature of 1901 provided for the removal of the collection from the University at Norman. In accordance with this enactment the board, at its annual meeting in June, 1901, authorized the executive committee to accept an offer made by the board of directors of the Carnegie Library building at Oklahoma City. In his report of 1901-2, President McKinlay says: "This offer was that the Society should have the use of the entire upper floor, or 'stack room,' of the library building, with light, heat, and janitor service, all for the nominal consideration of one dollar, for the time until the territory shall have a capital building ready for the collection. A contract to this effect was duly executed by the proper officers of both boards of directors in September, 1901."

In accordance therewith, on the first of January, 1902, the collection was moved to the Carnegie Library building, in fire proof rooms, this being its present home. For the first eight months after the removal Sidney Clarke acted as custodian of the Society, and among the valuable collections made during his term may be mentioned all the official and printed court documents relating to the Greer County case, which carries from back to the earliest known of that county until it became, by the highest authority, a part of Oklahoma. On the retirement of Mr. Clarke, April 1, 1903, Mrs. Marion Rock, Carnegie librarian

(Photo about 1905)

)ffice and some exhibits of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Carnegie .ibrary Building, Oklahoma. Seated right: William P. Campbell, Cus-odian; left, a visitor, "World's Champion Walker," Capt. H. B. Hicks.

at Oklahoma City, was appointed custodian and served until June 1, 1904, when after an absence of nine years from connection with the Society, W. P. Campbell was appointed custodian, and is still serving.

A general accession book has since been installed, wherein is kept a record of all general accessions—author, title, character, donor, date of receipt, etc. An accession book for newspapers was also installed, in which to keep a record of all publications, when established, by whom, editor, date of first copy received, etc. A card system has also been installed whereby each publication has its individual card on which is entered the date of each issue as received, so that by a glance at the card any missing number may be ascertained. An account book and visitors' book have likewise been installed.

During the session of the recent legislature an estimate of the needs of the Society for the biennial period of 1905-6 was furnished members of the legislature, and, although the appropriation was made in bulk, it was based on this estimate—$2,000 per annum. In October of last year a circular letter was addressed to the candidates of the different political parties in each of the counties in the territory asking for photographs and data, that some day the annals of the territory may be written. Many responses have been received from these letters. Some progress has been made in clippings of various important events of the territories to be made into scrap books indexed for ready reference.

During June of last year 232 volumes of publications were sent to the State Capital for binding, and these have been placed in the cabinets. March 8th of the current year 252 volumes were sent to the Guthrie Leader for binding, an aggregate of 1698 bound publications, and later perhaps one hundred more held for securing missing numbers and back files. Back files and partial back files, aggregating 141, have been secured, a definite list being of record here.

The stamp account, June 1, 1904, to June 1, 1905, represents 1,869 letters sent out, copies of lists of which are here. The bulk of this correspondence related to the newspaper feature of the collection though many inquiries have come to the Society which had to be answered; besides, correspondence has been opened with the department at Washington, and with the principal historical societies of the country, resulting in a mutual exchange valuable to the collection.

In an effort to secure historical matter attention has been given to the Indian Territory equally with that given to Oklahoma, and the theory has been adopted that the time to secure data is as early as history forms.

Cards were issued during the National Editorial Association meeting at Guthrie in June, 1905, asking that a copy of each paper containing reference to that meeting or the itinerary of the national editors in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory be sent the Oklahoma Historical Society, these to be bound in a souvenir volume. In response to these cards write-ups of editors throughout the Union have been received, aggregating hundreds of columns. Thus will be preserved, in an interesting way, a record of the greatest editorial event witnessed in the West.

OFFICIAL ROSTER
OKLAHOMA PRESS ASSOCIATION.

1893.	1894.
President—J. E. Quein.	Roy Hoffman.
Vice-President—E. E. Brown	E. E. Brown.
Secretary—Harry B. Gilstrap.	Lon Whorton.
Treasurer—Effie Gilstrap.	A. C. Dolde.
Custodian—W. P. Campbell.	W. P. Campbell.

Oklahoma Historical Society.

First Board of Directors 1895-6:

W. C. Renfrow, Guthrie; D. R. Boyd, Norman; John I. Dille, El Reno; W. R. Asher, Tecumseh; Leslie G. Niblack, Guthrie; A. C. Dolde, Newkirk; T. B. Ferguson, Watonga; C. E. Hunter, Enid; Leo Vincent, Guthrie; James H. Hale, Pawnee; W. T. Little, Perry; T. A. Chesney, Norman; John T. Hefley, Norman; A. J. Seay, Kingfisher; A. C. Scott, Oklahoma City; Henry E. Asp, Guthrie; G. W. Sutton, Cleveland; John Golobie, Guthrie; J. V. Admire, Kingfisher; J. J. Burke, Oklahoma City; Frank Walling, Medford; Effie Gilstrap, Chandler; Will E. Bolton, Woodward; D. B. Phillips, Yukon; J. A. Overstreet, Norman.

President, F. S. E. Amos; Secretary, Nettie Walker; Treasurer; D. B. Phillips; Vice Presidents, John T. Hefley and Katherine Pennistone; Custodian, W. T. Little (W. P. Campbell until July 10, 1895).

Directors—1905-6:

Frank Northrup, Oklahoma City; Lincoln McKinlay, Newkirk; Roy Stafford, Oklahoma City; Jasper Sipes, Oklahoma City; J. B. Thoburn, Guthrie; J. W. McNeal, Guthrie; Sidney Clarke, Oklahoma City; V. C. Welch, Perry; F. H. Greer, Guthrie; Lon Whorton, Perry; W. P. Campbell.

Officers—1905-6:

Lincoln McKinlay, President; Jasper Sipes, Vice-President;

Sidney Clarke, 2d Vice-President; J. W. McNeal, Treasurer; Lon Whorton, Secretary; W. P. Campbell, Custodian.

The annual meeting of the Society is held in the first week of June each year at Oklahoma Historical Rooms, Carnegie Building, Oklahoma City.

Official Roster — Summary.

Presidents:

F. S. E. Amos, Jan. 16, 1895, to June 1896; Mort L. Bixler, June, 1896, to June, 1898; Lincoln McKinlay, June, 1898 to June, 1906

Vice-Presidents:

John T. Hefley, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; Katherine Pennistone, Jan. 16, 1895, to June 1896; E. W. Hoyt, June, 1896, to June, 1898; J. A. Overstreet, June, 1896, to June, 1898; David R. Boyd, June, 1898, to June, 1903; Sidney Clarke, June, 1903, to June, 1906; Jasper Sipes, June, 1904, to June, 1906.

Secretaries:

Nettie Walker, Jan. 16, 1895 to June 1899; Lon Whorton, June, 1899, to June, 1906.

Treasurers:

D. B. Phillips n. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; Lincoln McKinlay, June, 1896, to June, 1898; H. B. Gilstrap, June, 1898, to June, 1899; J. W. McNeal, June 1899, to June, 1906.

Custodians:

W. P. Campbell, May 27, 1893, to July 10, 1895; June 1, 1904, to date; W. T. Little, July 10, 1895 to Jan. 1, 1900; Don A. Northup, Jan. 1900, to June, 1900; G. A. Bucklin, June 1900, to August, 1900; E. M. Vanderslice, August, 1900, to January, 1902; Marion Rock, January 1, 1902, to April 3, 1903; December, 1903, to June 1, 1904; Sydney Clarke April 3, 1903, to April 3, 1904.

May 27, 1893, to February 1895, the Society was under direction of the Oklahoma Press Association, and not Territorial control.

Assistant Custodian:

Marion Rock, April 3, 1903, to April 3, 1904; Leela Mauldin, Jan. 1, 1904, to date.

Directors:

W. C. Renfrow, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; D. R. Boyd, Jan. 16, 1895, to June 1903; John I. Dilley, Jan. 16 1895, to June

Editor Man and Staff of *The Kingfisher Times,* 1899

1818; W. R. Asher, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; Leslie B. Niblack, Jan. 16, 1895, to June 1899; A. C. Dolde, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1899; T. B. Ferguson, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1899; C. E. Hunter, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; Leo Vincent, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1898; James H. Holt, Jan. 16 1895, to June, 1896; W. T. Little, Jan. 16, 1895, to June 1900; T. A. Chesney Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; John T. Hefley, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; A. J. Seay Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1899; A. C. Scott, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1899; Henry E. Asp, Jan. 16, 1895, to June 1899; G. W. Sutton, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1898; John Golobie Jan. 16, to June 1896; J. V. Admire, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896, and 1900 to 1901; J. J. Burke, Jan. 16, 1895 to June, 1896, and 1899 to 1900; Frank Walling, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; Effie Gilstrap, Jan. 16, 1895, to June 1900; Will E. Bolton, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1898; D. B. Phillips, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; J. A. Overstreet, Jan. 16, 1895, to June, 1896; Edw. DeBarr, June, 1896, to 1898; John I. Mitch, June, 1896, to June 1898; Sidney Clarke, June, 1896, to 1906; Lincoln McKinlay, June 1896, to 1906; W. N. Rice, June, 1896, to 1898; Lou Wilder, June, 1896, to June, 1898; Nettie Walker, June, 1896 to 1898; E. W. Hoyt, June, 1896, to 1899; F. H. Greer, June, 1896, to 1906; Shirley Chapman, June, 1896, to June, 1898; Mort L. Bixler, June, 1896, to 1898; W. H. Peter, June, 1896 to 1898; E. H. Perry, June, 1896, to 1898; Harry B. Gilstrap, June, 1896, to 1899; Lon Whorton, June, 1896, to 1906; Will T. Walker, June, 1896, to 1899; V. C. Welch, June, 1896, to 1899, 1901 to 1903 and 1904 to 1906; J. B. Campbell, June, 1898, to 1899; C. H. Miller, June, 1898, to 1899; J. W. Bishop, June, 1898, to 1899; Jerre Johnson, June, 1898, to 1899; R. Q. Blakeley, June, 1898, to 1899; A. C. Glassen, June, 1898, to 1899; T. J. Palmer, June, 1898, to 1899; J. W. Randall, June, 1896, to 1899; J. A. Buckles, June, 1896, to 1899; Tom Jarboe, June, 1899 to 1900; J. W. McNeal, June, 1899, to 1906; T. F. Hensley, June, 1899, to 1900; C. M. Hill, June, 1900, to 1901; Jasper Sipes, June, 1900, to 1906; Frank T. Cook, June, 1900, to 1901; A. J. Ross, June, 1900, to 1902; J. W. Lawton, June, 1901, to 1902; Gov. W. M. Jenkins, June, 1901, to 1902; Chas. F. Barrett, June, 1901, to 1902; Roy Stafford, June, 1902, to 1906; Frank B. Northup, June, 1902 to 1906; E. E. Brown, June, 1901, to 1903; Ed Felt, June, 1903 to 1904; Frank McMaster June 1898, to 1901.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

I. This association shall be styled the "Oklahoma Historical Society." The object of the Society shall be to collect, embody, arrange and preserve books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, and other materials illustrative of the history of Oklahoma in particular, and of the country in general; to procure from the early settlers narratives of the events relative to the early settlement of

Oklahoma, and of the early explorations, the Indian occupancy, opening and immigration to the Territory and the West; to gather all information calculated to exhibit faithfully any antiquities, and the past and present resources of the commonwealth, and to take steps to promote the study of history by lectures and other available means.

II. This Society shall consist of active, life, honorary and corresponding members, who may be chosen by the Board of Directors at any regular or special meeting, except at their meeting next preceding the annual meeting of the Society; the active members to consist of citizens of the commonwealth, by the payment of one dollar annually; the life members by the payment at any one time of ten dollars; the honorary and corresponding members, who shall be exempt from fee and taxation, shall be chosen from persons in any part of the world, distinguished for their literary or scientific attainments and known especially as friends and promoters of history; editors and publishers of newspapers and periodicals who contribute the regular issues of the same to the collections of the Society, shall be considered active members of the Society during the continuance of such contribution.

III. There shall be a Board of Directors of the Society, to consist of eleven members [changed from 25 to 11 members, Oct. 9, 1891], who shall be elected from among members of the Society; or, if any person be elected who shall not at the time be a member of the Society, he shall become such by the payment of the annual membership fee of one dollar; and he shall then become qualified to act as a member of the Board of Directors upon taking the oath of office as such. Any person elected a member of the Board of Directors who shall fail to qualify within sixty days after being notified of his election, shall be deemed to have declined the office, and the same shall thereby be considered vacant. Any vacancy in the Board of Directors, or in any office of the Society, may be filled by the Board of Directors at any meeting subsequent to the occurring thereof. Any number not less than five shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. No member of the Board of Directors or other officer, except the Custodian, shall receive pay for any of the ordinary duties of his office.

IV. The elective officers of the Society shall consist of a President and two Vice Presidents, a Secretary, Custodian, Treasurer. The President, Vice Presidents and Treasurer shall hold their offices for a term of one year, and until their successors are chosen; said officers to be chosen by ballot of the Society, their election to be made at the annual meeting of the Society, and their terms of office shall begin at the date of their election and qualification in office. The Secretary and Custodian shall hold their offices for a term of two years, and until their successors are chosen. And, in addition to these officers, all donations of money or property (if accepted by the Board of Directors) to the amount or value of five hundred dollars shall constitute the donors life-directors of the Society during their natural lives; but such life-directors shall never exceed in number the regularly elected directors; and all moneys from life-directorships or from donations or bequests, unless especially directed otherwise by such life-directors, donors, or devisors, shall be invested to the best advantage, and the accruing interest be used and shall be employed in such manner for the benefit of the Society as the Board of Directors may direct.

V. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held at the Society rooms on the first Saturday in June; and those members net less than six (6) who meet at any annual or special meeting of the Society upon the call of the Board of Directors, shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.

VI. The President, or in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, or in their absence any member of the Society selected on the occasion, shall preside at the annual meeting or any special meeting of the Society. Such presiding officer shall preserve order, regulate the order of proceeding, give a casting vote whenever the same is required, and countersign all warrants drawn by the Secretary.

VII. The Secretary shall preserve a full and correct record of the proceedings of all the meetings of the Society, to be entered on his book in chronological order. These records shall always be open for the inspection of any member of the Society. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, shall preserve for the Society the official communications addressed to him and keep copies of official letters written by him; he shall have charge of the seal; he shall collect or cause to be collected moneys due to the Society and pay the same to the Treasurer; he shall give notice of the meetings of the Society; he shall edit and supervise, under direction of the Publication Committee, the publications of the Society, and to prepare or cause to be prepared and published, a bi-ennial report of the work and condition of the Society.

VIII. The Custodian shall have charge of the books, manuscripts, and other collections of the Society; he shall keep a catalogue of the same, together with all additions made during his official term; in case of donation, he shall specify in his record the name of the book, manuscript, or article donated, with the name of the donor and date of the gift; he shall make an annual report of the condition of the library; he shall keep and cause to be suitably bound such papers as he shall deem fit, out of funds not otherwise expended; he shall direct the literary exchanges; he shall report to all calls made upon him touching the affairs of his office by the Secretary of the Society, his work to be under the general supervision of the Secretary.

IX. The Treasurer shall receive and have charge of all dues, appropriations, donations and bequests of moneys, and all funds whatsoever of the Society, and pay such sums as the Boards of Directors may from time to time direct, on the warrant of the President, countersigned by the Secretary; and he shall make an annual report of the pecuniary transactions of the Society, and also a statement of the funds and property of the Society, at any special or stated meeting when thereto required.

X. The Custodian and Treasurer shall give satisfactory bonds, in such sums as the Board of Directors may deem proper, for the faithful performance of their respective duties, and for the faithful preservation of property of every kind belonging to the Society; and such bonds shall be filed among the papers of the Society.

XI. The Directors shall elect their own officers. The directors shall supervise and direct the financial and business concerns of the Society; may augment the library cabinet, and gallery, by purchase or otherwise; may make arrangements for a single lecture or a course of lectures, for promoting historic knowledge, and increasing the pecuniary resources of the Association. They shall have power to fill any vacancies occurring in their numbers; they shall audit and adjust all accounts of the Society; they may call special meetings when necessary, appoint the annual orator, make suitable arrangements for the delivery of the annual address, use their discretion as to the publication of any communications, collections, transactions, annual or other addresses, or other written matters of the Society, and they shall make a full report of their transactions to the Secretary, accompanied by such suggestions

as may seem to them appropriate and worthy of attention. They may appoint an Executive Committee from their own number, to perform such duties as may be prescribed for such committee.

XII. The Secretary is hereby authorized and directed to cause the bills for the annual dues of active members to be made out and sent to the addresses of such members on or before the first day of June of each year, with a copy of this article, and if such amount is not paid to the Treasurer of this Society by the first day of December following, of said year, those members in arrears shall be deemed to have forfeited their membership and their names shall be stricken from the roll of members. The term of annual memberships to date from and after the first Saturday in June.

XIII. The Board of Directors may adopt By-Laws for their own government and guidance, not inconsistent with this Constitution.

XIV. This Constitution and By-Laws shall not be amended save at the annual meeting of the Society, and then only when the proposed amendment shall have been reduced to writing, and entered on the minutes of the Society, at least one month previous to a vote being taken on the same, and provided also, that a 2-3 majority of the members present shall concur in the adoption of the amendment or amendments proposed.

By-Laws

I. The Board of Directors shall audit all accounts presented against the Society, and all warrants drawn upon the Treasurer shall be upon sworn vouchers, approved by a majority of the Board of Directors, there being a quorum.

II. The Board of Directors shall determine the character of the published reports of the Society, and shall decide what papers from its transactions and collections the biennial report shall contain; shall provide for the annual address; shall take such action as may be deemed advisable in reference to the delivery from time to time of lectures and addresses on historical subjects at the University or elsewhere; shall take such action as the interests of the Society shall from time to time demand in relation to providing and furnishing suitable rooms for its collections, and shall consult with the Secretary and Custodian and with them decide upon the purchasing of books to augment the Society's library.

III. At or before the commencement of each fiscal year the Board of Directors shall examine and audit the accounts of the Treasurer; and at the annual meeting they shall make a written report to the Society.

IV. There shall be a Committee on Legislation to consist of five members; and it shall be the duty of the committee, annually, to confer with the members and committees of the legislature, and present for their consideration and action the matters for legislation which the Board of Directors shall recommend.

V. There shall be a Committee on Nominations to consist of five members; it shall be the duty of the committee, annually, at some time previous to the annual meeting of the Society, to make a selection of persons who they may deem proper to recommend for members of the Board of Directors, and shall present the same for the action of the Society at the annual meeting.

VI. The Custodian shall be paid a salary of .... by warrant on the Treasurer of the Society, drawn by the Secretary, and countersigned by the President, out of any appropriations made by the Legislature for the benefit of the Society.

VII. That a two-thirds majority of the Directors present shall be required to elect a candidate for membership.

OPENING OF OKLAHOMA

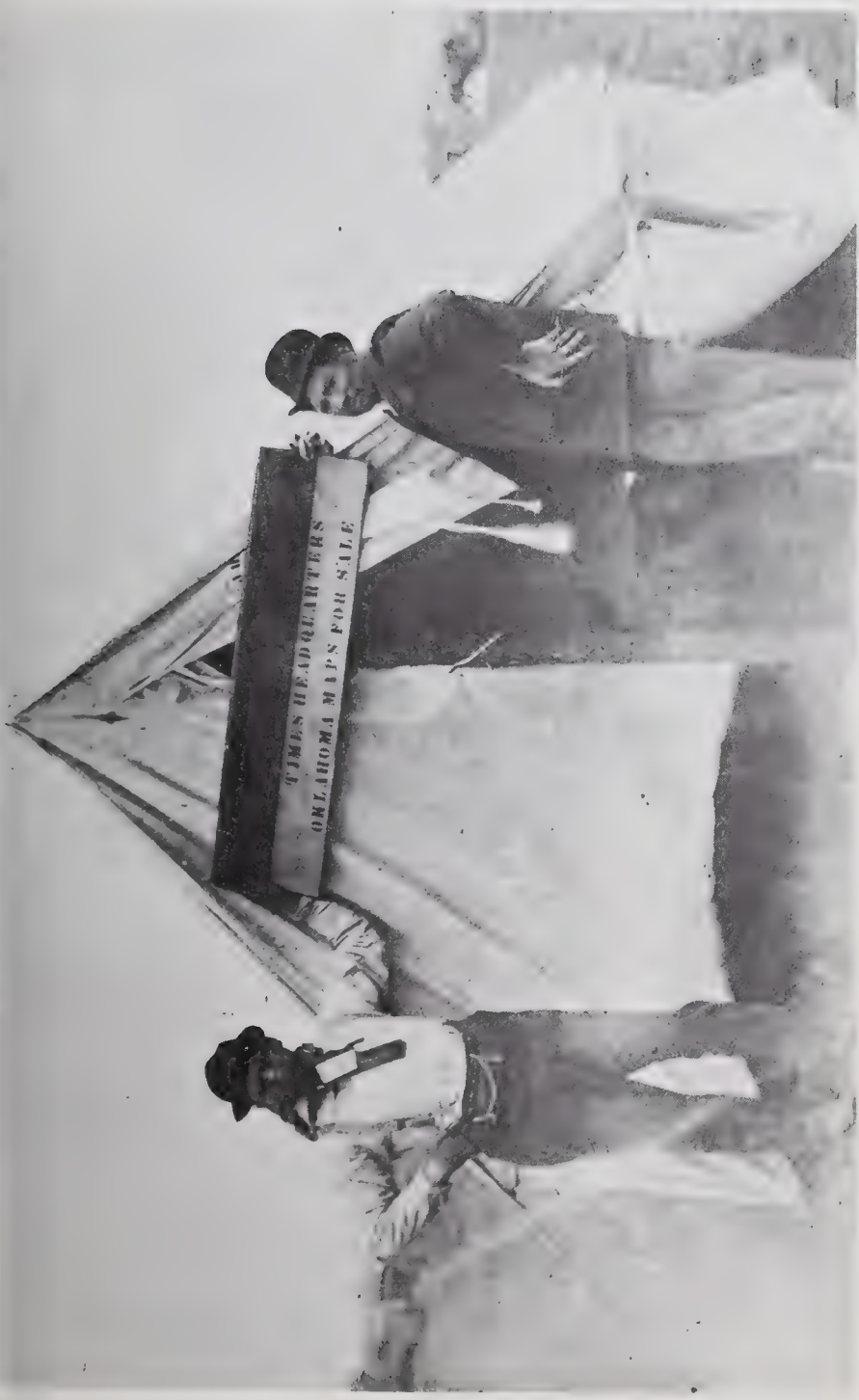
Paper submitted by Hon. Sidney Clarke[7] at the annual meeting of the society, June 2, 1905:

The contents of this paper will be partly personal incidents connected with the opening of Oklahoma to settlement, and partly a reference to the first congressional legislature relating to the Territory.

To write the complete history of the heroic struggle which covered a period of many years and which envolved so much of unselfishness, sacrifice and suffering on one hand, and craft and greed on the other, would fill a volume of a large proportions and be of transcendent interest. It would record the most exceptional epoch in the history of American civilization, in the subjugation of a new continent and the founding of sovereign states. Told in all its details it would be a story intermixed with romance and tragedy, and would exemplify as never before the resistless energy of the noblest band of American pioneers that ever turned their faces toward the setting sun. If life and health remain I hope some time to write an impartial history of Oklahoma—of its early and later days—unless some one more competent than myself shall sooner undertake the work.

The land over which Coronado marched and of which Humboldt and Irving wrote, is soon to be the forty-sixth star in the gallaxy of states, unless the national congress still remains in-

[7] Sidney Clarke took an active part in the agitation for the opening of Oklahoma, and eventually became a citizen of Oklahoma. A native of Massachusetts, born in 1831, he settled in Kansas in 1858 where he engaged in the newspaper business, and was active in politics. He was a member of the Kansas State Legislature and served in the volunteer military service as captain during the Civil War. He was elected to Congress from Kansas in 1864, and re-elected in 1866 and 1868. He was Speaker of the House in the Kansas State Legislature in 1879. He was actively engaged in trying to secure the opening of the Oklahoma lands to settlement from 1885-1889. In the closing hours of the 50th Congress, he aided in drafting the amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill, the final passage of which resulted in the opening of Oklahoma a few weeks later—April 22, 1889. Mr. Clarke settled in Oklahoma City at the time of the "run" on this date, and made his home here until his death on June 18, 1909. He served as member of the Legislative Assembly of Oklahoma Territory in 1898 and in 1900. He was well-known in the movement for Oklahoma statehood.



Oklahoma City Headquarters for the *Arkansas City Times* in April, 1889.

sensible to the demands of justice for fifteen hundred thousand citizens. For more than a decade there has been no good reason why statehood should not have been conferred upon us, and why we should not have enjoyed the privileges and exercised the responsibilities of local self government.

The first movement in congress for the establishment of a territorial government here commenced twenty-five years before it was finally accomplished. The Hon. Robert T. VanHorn, of Missouri, then a member of the house from the Kansas City district, introduced the first bill for the creation of the Territory of Oklahoma out of what was then known as the Indian Territory. That was in the Thirty-ninth Congress. No action being taken it was again introduced by Mr. VanHorn in the Fourtieth Congress, referred to the committee on Indian affairs and favorably reported, but failed to be considered for want of time. And still again in the Forty-first Congress, Mr. VanHorn presented his bill, more determined than ever to secure its consideration. I was at that time chairman of the committee on Indian affairs and Mr. VanHorn was a member of the committee. The bill was fully discussel by the committee and after deliberate consideration of all its provisions, was again favorably reported to the house. I remember the deep interest Mr. VanHorn manifested in the bill and the conclusive reasons he presented why the legislation should be had. I fully sympathized with him in his earnest advocacy of the measures, and contributed whatever influence I had as chairman of the committee to secure its favorable consideration. I believed then as I have believed in the years that followed, that there should be no part of our territorial domain that should be left without the protection of Civil Governmant.

No man in Congress was better qualified than Mr. VanHorn to champion the bill which he introduced. A statesman, thoroughly identified with the interests of the great southwest, and an editor of conspicuous ability, he was cimprehensive in information, alert in argument, and fore saw with prophetic vision the grand possibilities of the future of Oklahoma.

When the bill was taken up for consideration in the house it was claimed by the committee on the territories, of which Mr. Shelby M. Cullum, of Ill., now Senator from that state, was chairman, that under the rules it should be first considered by that committee. An extended debate followed both on the question of the committee and on the merits of the bill. While the committee on Indian affairs was at a technical disadvantage, its members and those who supported its action, strenuously contended that the necessity of the legislation was imperative, and was as necessary for the protection and prosperity of the Indians

of the five tribes as it was for the settlement and development of the country they occupied. Mr. VanHorn defended the bill with much spirit and answered all criticisms of its opponents in a most conclusive manner. Mr. Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Sargent, of California, Mr. Cullum of Illinois, Mr. Voorhees, of Indiana, and other leading members of the House participated in the debate.

It should be stated here that the Indians of the five tribes met in convention in September, 1870, as provided for by the treaty of 1866, and that on the sixth of December following, adopted a constitution or organic act for the Indian Territory. This act, which in substance established a Territorial government exclusive for the Indians, was approved by Mr. Delano, then Secretary of the Interior, in the following language: "My conviction is, that as this council has been held under the authority of law, and as it has resulted in a form of government adopted by the Indians themselves, it is best to try the experiment of this government, Congress reserving the full right to approve or disapprove of all legislation that may occur under it. Congress may also desire to alter or modify the constitution which has been adopted."

The Indian government thus provided for was never established, but it undoubtedly operated to prevent Congress from passing the bill reported by Mr. Van Horn.

Among the notable speeches in favor of the bill, I especially remember that of Mr. Voorhees. He argued that the constitution adopted by the Indians was not in strict accordance with the treaties of 1866. He was known as exceedingly friendly to the Indians, but he did not think it wise to put them in full control of the proposed Territorial government. Among other things Mr. Voorhees said:

"In my opinion something should be done. We should either go forward or backward. What shall we do? Pass the bill now before us or ratify the constitution of Okmulgee, or do nothing, and thus leave the territory in its present condition. Under that constitution the government of the United States would have no supervision whatever over the Indians of the Territory, and would have no responsibility except to make the necessary appropriations. The bill reported by the Indian committee provides for the appointment by the President of the officers of the Territory, while the Okmulgee constitution says they shall be elected. I believe the Indians should have a liberal representation in the offices of the Territory. Among the five civilized nations there are men of cultivation, refinement and talent, who would grace any position. If objection is made to incorporating these Indians more closely into the civil affairs of our govern-

ment I do not share it. There may be gentlemen upon the flour, and upon my side of it, too, who would object to an Indian here as a delegate to look after the interests of his people. I would remind such that the time has been in the old and chivalrous days, when the proudest representative ever sent here from Virginia boasted in these halls that in his veins ran Indian blood. But there was no spirit of caste which ostracised John Randolf, of Roanoke. He trod this floor and the floor of the Senate with the lofty demeanor of an Indian prince asserting everywhere his aboriginal lineage and challenging and receiving social homage from all. Sir, I have no prejudice against the Indian. He is a native and proprietor of this land. I know the people mentioned in this bill. I have been associated with them in business relations. I have met among them men who were as full of proper and patriotic spirit and as capable of legislating for the interests of their people as is any gentleman on this floor representing any contingency, I care not how refined or exalted."

This spirit of liberality toward the Indian pervaded all the discussion on both sides of the question. Finally the bill was refered to the Indian and the Territorial committees for joint action and subsequently favorably reported back to the house by Mr. VanHorn. But this was late in February, and as the Congress expired on the Fourth of March, no further action was had.

The name "OKLAHOMA" was furnished by Col. E. C. Boudinot, one of the most prominent men in the Cherokee nation.[8] He was an able lawyer and an accomplished gentleman, and stood almost alone, among the Indians in advocating the opening of all the surplus lands in the Indian Territory to white settlement. He held that the lands west of the five tribes were public lands and practically free from Indian title. It was said that Col. Boudinot inherited his liberal views from his father, who was assassinated in the Cherokee nation soon after the tribe moved west. The elder Boudinot opposed the exclusive policy, which at that time dominated the tribe and paid the penalty with his life. As a natural result his talented son became a

[8] A note discovered (1961) in Mr. Campbell's report for 1908 states that the Oklahoma Historical Society had carried on investigation and research "with a view of settling more definitely the origin and significance of the name 'Oklahoma.," This involved a correspondence with various national and state departments—including the Smithsonian Institute—and citizens of Indian Territory and Mississippi. This note with other data calls for a brief review of the history and the name "Oklahoma," which is found in Notes and Documents in this issue of *The Chronicles*. The name "Oklahoma" was first applied to the Indian Territory (all the present state) in the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty in 1866, the name having been given by Allen Wright, Choctaw delegate, in making this treaty.

crusader of the progress of his tribe, and by his unyielding persistence at home, at Washington and elsewhere in the country, labored to elevate his people to the same standard of civilization and citizenship enjoyed by the white race. Possessed of a legal mind, combined with a sentimental and poetical temperament, fond of music and of art, he was a fine orator, a vigorous writer, and one of the most companionable men I ever knew. He was well known by the public men of the country and held a high place in the esteem of all. When Capt. David L. Payne commenced the movement to open Oklahoma to settlement, when Capt. W. L. Couch and myself went to Washington to labor for the necessary legislation, Col. Boudinot was always ready to lend a helping hand. His wide acquaintance and great ability were no unimportant factors in the long and strenuous controversy which ensued in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congress, and which resulted in the amendment to the Indian appropriation bill, under which the first settlement was made here on the 22nd of April, 1889. Col. Boudinot's death at Ft. Smith, while yet a young man, was received with profound regret wherever he was known.

From the close of the Forty-first Congress up to the Forty-ninth Congress no substantial progress was made in that body looking to the opening of Oklahoma to settlement, and the creation of a Territorial government. The battle was transferred from Washington to the west. The legions of Payne and Couch were formed to invade the Territory for homestead settlement, under the name of the Payne Oklahoma colony. Not less than twenty thousand people composed the organization. They belonged to all the professions and all the walks of life and all the states of the Union. In the meantime the cattle syndicates took possessison of the country, and by the administration of Hayes aided and Cleveland, held it with firm grasp. The army was stationed on the border to keep out the settlers. Payne and Couch and others were repeatedly arrested. Couch was tried on the charge of treason before Judge Foster of the Kansas United States district court and promptly acquitted. Payne vainly sought to get into the courts so as to test the legal statutes of the land. But as often as he was arrested during his repeated invasions of the Territory, he was taken to Kansas or Arkansas and released without any charge being made against him.

Early in 1885 a general move to invade the Territory was planned and a large number of colonists assembled at Caldwell, Kansas and along the southern border of that state. Before the movement was made Payne fell dead with heart disease, at Wellington, Kansas, and Couch assumed command of the colony. He had been a member since 1882. In the Oklahoma War Chief

of July 8, 1885, edited by Col. Samuel Croker, who was also an able and active leader in the movement, the following description of the new commander appeared:

"Captain Couch is thirty-five years old, stands erect, five feet and ten inches high, weighs one hundred and sixty pounds, is of a fair complexion, of light hair, bright blue eyes, wears a mustache, is the father of a family, and is of a very amiable disposition. His whole soul is wrapped up in the work to which he is so nobly devoted. In appearance he is a modest unassuming man, rather bashful and reserved though congenial and pleasant, with a fund of knowledge concerning the Oklahoma movement, cattle syndicates, land laws, and army indignities, and matters pertaining to the colony and the Indian Territory really remarkable. No manlier man ever stood at the head of so important an organization, possessing such executive ability, cool deliberate judgment, intrepid bravery and courage. No man can help liking him, and all the old colonists would lay down their lives for him."

Captain Couch was fully worthy of this high enconium. The year 1885 was crowded with events important to the colony. Invasions of the Territory, frequent arrests and a threatened Indian war with the Cheyenes and Arapahoes followed in rapid succession. The Chicago Tribune and Kansas City Times and other metropolitan journals espoused the settlers' cause. The battle was now fairly in and the country east and west was thoroughly aroused in the energy of the situation. I was employed by the Chicago Triblne to go to Ft. Reno with General Sheridan where a large number of troops were concentrated, and send full dispatches to that paper relating to the Indian trouble, and especially in regard to the controversy between the cattle men and the intending settlers. This was my first visit to the Territory. The Indians were soon composed. I then traveled as far east as where Oklahoma now stands and then north to the Kansas line. I found that this was a vast cattle pasture occupied by thousands of cattle owned by the powerful syndicate, that they controlled the cattle business of the southwest. It had appeared at Ft. Reno that the cattle occupancy was the real cause of the Indian trouble and this was confirmed by what I subsequently discovered. In extensisve dispatches I told the true story in the Tribune, which was confirmed by other representatives of the press. Gen. Sheridan's report to the President and the wide spread publicity of the true situation, angered the cattle men, but it aroused the people generally to the justice of the demands for the opening of the lands.

On July 21, in 1885 Attorney General Garland decided that the lessees of the Cherokee Strip, of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation, and of the Kiowa and Comanche reservation were

illegal. On August 7, President Cleveland issued his proclamation ordering that the cattle be taken out of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation, but neglected to enforce the opinion of Attorney-General so far as the rest of the Oklahoma lands was concerned.

From this time on it became evident that the administration was insincere, and that in spite of frequent promises made by the Secretary of the Interior to Capt. Couch and myself, that both the President and the secretary were upholding the cattle syndicates. But there was no relaxation on the part of the colonists. They knew they had friends in Congress and to them they determined to appeal.

The first session of the new Congress was met on the first Monday in December, 1885. Gen. James Weaver, of Iowa, was a member of the house, and Chas. H. Van Wyck, of Nebraska, was a Senator from that state. Both men were of conspicuous ability, fully conversant with the situation here, and the house and senate. Capt. Couch reached Lawrence the same day, and the following night was spent by us in drawing a bill of twenty-two sections providing for a Territorial government for all the old Indian Territory, opening the surplus land to homestead settlement, defining the rights of the Indians, and settling all controverted questions which were then pending. The bill was on its way to Washington by the mail of the next day, and on its receipt by General Weaver and Senator Van Wyck was promptly introduced by them.

On the 28th day of the following January, Capt. Couch and myself proceeded to Washington and took up the fight before the committee of both houses and never abandoned it until the victory was won.

It would require a separate chapter and much space to give in detail the history of the legislative battle which ensued. The bill was kept constantly at the front by its friends for more than three years and fought most determinedly by its opponents. To the end of that Congress and up to its passage in the house by forty-five majority the battle was of the most strenuous character. We enlisted the New York Herald in its behalf and many other great papers in the eastern cities. After being reported by the house committee on the Territories it was known as the Springer bill and the principal change being made the eliminating of the five tribes from its provision.

To General Weaver more than to any other member the credit is due in securing its consideration and passage. The end of the session was approaching. Many measures of national importance were pending. The committee on rules opposed the

bill and refused to set a day for its consideration. We knew that a majority of the house was in its favor, but our appeals to the committee for action were in vain. At that time the Reed rules had not been adopted and dilatory motions could be indefinitely made, and the yeas and nays called, and all legislation suspended until some agreement could be reached. Gen. Weaver stepped willingly into the breach and inaugurated a drastic filibuster and continued for three days. Then came the surrender of the committee, a day was fixed, and the bill was triumphantly passed only to be defeated in the senate a few days later.

But our friends in the house stood firm. The Indian appropriation bill was not yet passed. It was determined at once to place an amendment on that bill, opening a portion of the land as an entering wedge for the Territorial government in the future. On the following night we held a meeting in the room of the committee on Territories, at which Gen. Weaver and Mr. Springer, of Illinois, Mr. Perkins, of Kansas, Mr. Peel, of Arkansas, Capt. Couch and myself and several other friends were present. Sections 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian department for the year ending June 30, 1890, were hastily drawn, adopted by the house before morning as an amendment and sent to the senate, where the bill was referred to a conference committee. The amendment was resisted by the senate conferees for many hours, but was finally accepted and became a law.

Thus it was that the first step was taken in the new commonwealth, which under the providence of God, is destined to be one of the greatest and grandest in the Federal Union. The struggle for statehood has been long and earnest. But it has not been as long nor as difficult as that which preceeded it, and of which Payne and Couch were the heroic leaders.

THE FREE HOMES BILL

At the annual meeting of the society, June 2, 1905, Hon. Dennis T. Flynn presented the following paper on incidents leading up to presentation of pens used in signing the bill:[9]

[9] Dennis T. Flynn, born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on February 13, 1861, completed his education at Canisius College, Buffalo, New York, at the age of sixteen. At the age of twenty-one, he had proved himself a capable business man in New York, and had studied law. He went to Iowa and then to Kansas in 1882, and settled at Kiowa two years later where he became owner of the *Kiowa Herald;* also served as city attorney of the new town and practiced law. In 1889, he was appointed postmaster at the new land-office town of Guthrie in the Oklahoma country, and came here at the time of the land opening on April 22. He soon was the dominant personality in Oklahoma Ter-

When the lands now embracing the Territory of Oklahoma were opened to homestead settlement the Government provided that it should be re-imbursed for the various sums paid the Indians for these lands, by the settlers who should make entry upon them; with the exception of Original Oklahoma, which was opened under the Free Homes Bill, and which was afterwards divided and comprised parts of the Counties of Logan, Oklahoma, Cleveland, Canadian, Kingfisher, Payne and Beaver.

In the fall of 1892, after a succession of droughts, and after the opening for homestead settlement of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe, the Pottawatomie and the Iowa and Sac and Fox lands, I was nominated for the first time by the Republican party on a platform demanding that the National Government allow settlers upon these lands to secure title to them free and without cost, after a residence of five years. The first Free Homes Bill introduced in the American Congress since 1862 was introduced by me in the fifty-third Congress. It was, after having been referred to the Interior Department by the Committee on Public Lands, adversely reported by the then Secretary of the Interior, and also by the Committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives.

Immediately following this the Cherokee Strip was opened to homestead settlement and divided into three districts, the settlers in the eastern district being compelled to pay, in addition to complying with the Homestead requirements, $2.50 an acre; in the central district $1.50 an acre and in the western district $1.00 an acre and about the same time, the Kickapoo Reservation was also opened, the settlers being compelled to pay $1.50 an acre in addition to the homestead requirements in it.

After the adverse reports of the Secretary of the Interior and the Committee on Public Lands in the fifty-third Congress, the Free Homestead Bill was again introduced by me in the fifty-fourth Congress, during which Congress the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, making Greer County part of Oklahoma had been rendered, and the Free Homes Bill then pending was favorably reported by the Committee on Public Lands of the House, and was taken up for consideration

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ritorial politics as Republican leader, and was elected delegate to Congress in 1892, and re-elected in 1894. He was elected for two subsequent terms, 1898 and 1900, having championed the Free Homestead Act which was passed and approved on June 17, 1900. From 1902, Mr. Flynn was eminent in the legal and oil circles of Oklahoma. He made his home in Oklahoma City where he died on June 19, 1939. See Victor Murdock, "Dennis T. Flynn," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (June, 1940) pp. 107-113.

10 Elmer L. Fraker, "The Election of J. Y. Callahan," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1955), pp. 350-59.

by a special rule drawn by Speaker Reed, was amended on the floor of the House to make it apply to Greer County, and on March 16, 1895, passed the lower house of Congress with but very little opposition. It was amended when it went to the Senate, so as to make it apply to other states that had lands similarly situated, but failed to be enacted into law. An effort was made by my successor, Mr. Callahan, in the fifty-fifth Congress to again pass the bill which had passed the Senate, but it was defeated in the lower house.

In the fifty-sixth Congress a conference of the various representatives from the States and Territories affected by the Free-Home agitation was held, and a general Free Homes Bill was introduced, passed by the House of Representatives with but little opposition, and passed the United States Senate by unanimous consent. It was then transmitted to President McKinley for his approval, and he referred it to Secretary E. A. Hitchcock of the Interior Department for an opinion.

One of the pens which I have presented to the Society is the pen with which Secretary Hitchcock signed his report advising President McKinley to sign the bill.

On May 20, 1900, President McKinley attached his signature to the Free Homes Bill, in the presence of myself and a large gathering of people from Oklahoma, and the Senators and Representatives from the states that were affected by the legislation. After signing the Bill, President McKinley handed the pen with which he had signed it to me with his compliments, and that is one of the pens with which I have also presented the Society.

The third pen is the pen with which the then Speaker of the House of Representatives, David B. Henderson, attached his signature to the enrolled Bill the day it was sent to the White House.

The Bill which was signed with these pens by President McKinley cancelled an obligation on the part of the people of Oklahoma to the United States amounting to $16,000,000 on their homes, and a sum amounting to about $65,000,000 due from the settlers throughout the United States on the lands that this bill made free.

I take it that these are substantially the facts which you desire. It is impossible to describe or write the various anxious and disheartening hours that the homesteaders and their families endured for the eight years that the Free Homes Agitation prevailed in this Territory.

Having been the Delegate who was entrusted with the mission of securing free homes, and to whom all of these pens have

been presented, I thought, after a great deal of deliberation, that they could best be preserved by the Historical Society and that it was with sorrow, but with a sense of justice, that I have surrendered them to their keepimg.

Yours truly,

D. T. FLYNN.

Delegate 53rd, 54th, 56th, 57th Congresses.

ACCESSIONS

Following is a list of the more essential accessions to the Society since its inception in 1893. Some of these are given in the aggregate only. Until June, 1904, no record of donors seems to have been kept after the removal of the collections to Norman; hence the names of many donors are unknown. The society would be pleased to have any one who has contributed and whose name does not appear, give notice so that a record may be made.

Art Collections.—Photographs.

E. L. Cralle, Norman, member of legislature, 1905, with biographical data.

A. L. Sherrock, Cleo, member of legislature, 1905, with biographical data.

Edgar T. Tucker, Guthrie, Socialist candidate for legislature, 1904, with biographical data.

C. M. Barnes, Guthrie, Ex-Governor.

W. C. Renfrow, Joplin, Mo., ex-governor of Oklahoma.

A. J. Seay, Kingfisher, ex-governor and ex-member of the supreme bench.

William Lurty, U.S. Marshal of Oklahoma under Harrison.

John L. McAtee, Enid, ex-member of the supreme bench. Now deceased.

A. C. Scott, Stillwater, president of the A and M College.

Sidney Clarke, Oklahoma City, ex-congressman from Kansas, ex-custodian of the Oklahoma Historical society.

Samuel Crocker, Oklahoma City, who succeeded David L. Payne as publisher of the Oklahoma War Chief at Arkansas City; large crayon of David L. Payne, editor of the War Chief in 1885.

C. Ross Hume, Anadarko, first graduate of University at Norman.

F. S. E. Amos, Vinita, first president Oklahoma Historical society.

A. McBride, Watonga, member legislature, 1905, with data.

Henry E. Asp, Guthrie, solicitor Santa Fe.

Lone Wolf, Kiowa chief and minister, Lonewolf.

J. B. A. Robertson, Chandler democratic candidate for legislature, 1904.

Jesse J. Todd, Alva, Socialist candidate for legislature, 1904, with data.

Leslie Gordon, Niblack, Guthrie, member legislature, with data.

T. A. Blaze city clerk of, Oklahoma City.

A. R. Hickam, principal Oklahoma City high schools.

C. G. Jones, Oklahoma City, ex-legislator, ex-mayor and promoter.

J. P. Woolsey, Photograph; data, Perry, Okla.

Mary D. Couch, superintendent public schools, Oklahoma City.

J. P. Boetner, prominent business man of Lawton.

F. N. Howell, superintendent schools, El Reno.

W. P. Harper, probate judge of Oklahoma county.

R. N. McConnell, Oklahoma City, attorney.

F. S. Blackburn, county clerk, Oklahoma county.

Master Welden Worden, infant son of W. E. Worden, Waukomis, Oklahoma.

William Grimes, ex-U. S. marshal, territorial secretary, Guthrie.

W. A. Maxwell, member legislature from Canadian county 1903-5, publisher of the Oklahoma Magazine, Oklahoma City.

John L. McAtee, ex-member supereme bench of Oklahoma, (now deceased).

A. G. C. Bierer, ex-member supreme bench of Oklahoma.

Courtland C. M. Fuqua, Chandler, with address before editorial assosciation at Oklahoma City April 25, 1905. Frame and glass.

T. C. Sears of Kansas and biography. First discovered that Oklahoma lands were publlc domain. Ex-resident Oklahoma City, solicitor of the Choctow in Oklahoma. Biography by W. T. Little.

Mrs. Judge Dale, Guthrie

Mrs. C. F. Burford, Guthrie, chief justice.

J. G. Watrous, representative from Woods county, 1905.

George W. Clark, Oklahoma City.

Thomas W. Conway, president Alva Normal school.

Charles Wadsworth, city engineer, Oklahoma City.

R. V. Temming, Chandler, superintendent public schools.

E. N. Duncan, of the Rock Island, Oklahoma City.

H. C. Meadows, Lawton.

H. O. Emerick, ex chief of police, Oklahoma City.

J. J. Mitchel, attorney, Oklahoma City.

J. S. Alexander, treasurer Oklahoma county.

Mrs. David R. Boyd, Norman.

A. M. Debolt, pioneer business man of Oklahoma City.

J. P. Allen, ex mayor of Oklahoma City.

F. Virginia Graves, Oklahoma City schools.

Miss Emma Rabble, Oklahoma high school.

W. L. Alexander, ex-county treasurer Oklahoma county.

Oscar Lee, proprietor Lee Hotel, Oklahoma City.

J. L. Mitch, Oklahoma City, register deeds, Oklahoma county.

Charles Alexander, ex-treasurer. Oklahoma county.

B. B. Bone, Anadarko, member legislature, 1905.

J. N. Holcomb superintendent Oklahoma City schools.

James M. Anderson, Oklahoma City plumbing inspector.

Bird S. McGuire, Pawnee, delegate to congress.

A. D. Marble, Oklahoma City, with data.

W. E. Bolton, Woodward, editor News and Live Stock Inspector.

Harry F. Clarke, first Oklahoma census taker.

John C. Delaney, ex-land official at Oklahoma City, now Washington, D. C.

J. B. Campbell, Waukomis: photo of Tulsa Jack, dead highwayman, killed by William Banks, 30 miles west of Hennessey, April 4, 1895.

William Lurty, ex-U. S. marshal of Oklahoma.

A. J. Seay, ex-governor, Kingfisher, self, and of Ralph Seay, first cadet appointed by Hon. Dennis Flynn.

Dr. Watts, Norman; member 3rd legislative district.

A. G. C. Bierer, ex-member supreme bench, Guthrie.

University foot-ball group, Norman University, 1898.

R. W. Roming, Winfield, Kan.; group of University senate, Norman, 1900.

William Grimes, Guthrie, ex-U. S. marshal, present secretary of Territory.

Henry T. Miller, first president Oklahoma Press association.

E. W. Oliver, Oklahoma City; group of Rough Riders.

C. G. Jones, Oklahoma City; ex-member of the legislature.

C. R. Brooks, ex-attorney general.

W. A. Rutledge, Norman; Poor Buffalo, Kiowa chief, taken May 16, 1900.

C. P. Wickmiller, Kingfisher; original crayon of David L. Payne.

Samuel Crocker, successor to David L. Payne as editor of Oklahoma War Chief; photo of self, and framed crayon of David L. Payne; crayon of W. F. Cody.

C. A. Galbreath, ex-attorney general, ex-member of the bench of Hawaii.

A. D. Marble, Oklahoma City pioneer; with data.

Group of Editorial Association, Oklahoma City, April 24, 1905.

Chamber of Commerce, Oklahoma City, police group, El Reno.

Scenes and Views

Commercial Club; Excursion; Ardmore, I. T.

Band; same; Interior coach band at rest.

Same: "As we Jog Along."

Same: Interior of the coach presenting water set.

Same: Homeward bound.

Group in the rear of the coach.

Street Capital ground; Little Rock.

Orchard; near Oklahoma City.

Early day residence; model residence near Oklahoma City.

Agriculture; 108 pound watermelon; near Oklahoma Ctiy.

Agriculture; monstrous squash.

Commerce; Farmers state bank.

Commerce; Interior English Kitchen; Oklahoma City.

Church building; Oklahoma City; M. E. Church.

Hospital building; Catholic building.

New Catholic Church; Oklahoma City.

Pauline Kinslee Rehfield, Harrison, Okla.; Musical compositions.

Farm Scene; Potatoe drilling; Shawnee.

Fish Lair; Five miles northeast of Shawnee

Street; Chandler; Lincoln county.

Commercial Club; Excursion; Oklahoma City.

Street; Ardmore, I. T.

Street; Ardmore, I. T.

Hotel; Ardmore, I. T.: Excursion Commercial Club, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Street; Stroud, Lincoln county.

Cotton Gin; Stillwater, Payne county.

Model Farm; Stillwater, Payne county.

Commercial; Loading Potatoes; McLoud Potatoe Co.

Agriculture; Potatoe Digging; McLoud, Okla.

Station Scene; Orlando, Logan county.

Commercial; Interior McBride's Store, Wagoner, I. T.

Commercial; First National Bank, Watonga.

Commercial; Waggoner's Store; Watonga.

Ranch; Fancy Cattle.

Street; Wynnewood, I. T.

Mill; Weatherford, Custer county.

C. H. Crowley; Residence, Cordell, Washita county.

Railway; First train through Cordell, Washita county.

Training School for Boys; Segar, Washita county.

Street; Madill, I. T.

Good Roads; Indians working roads, Seger, Okla.

Souvenir Collection; Chamber Commerce, Oklahoma City; Excursion, March 1902; Kodak; En Route.

Hotel, Interior; Commercial club excursion.

Washita river; Commercial club enroute, 1902.

Bridge; Washita river.

Red river, Dennison, Texas.

Pavillion, Dennison, Texas.

Hotel, Katy; Commercial club excursion.

Street, El Reno, 1902.

Street, during the registration, El Reno.

Bank, El Reno.

Shoemaker's ranch, Beaver, Beaver county, 1902.

A. A. Haskell; Ranch group near Edmond.

Cattle, Beaver county.

John Avery; Farm scene near Cline, Beaver county.

Street, Blackburne, Pawnee county.

Ruby's Plaster works, Ferguson; Blaine county.

Pastorial; Watermelon weight, 120 lbs.

Pastorial; Farm near Shawnee, Hubble.

Commercial; Unloading potatoes, Shawnee.

Cotton seed oil mill, Shawnee.

Orchard; Julius Greenlee, Shawnee.

Farm of Julius Greenlee, Shawnee.

Main street, Shawnee.

Farm: Potatoe digging, Shawnee.

Mill; Blackwell, Okla.

Blackwell College.

Commercial and Harvest scenes near Geary, Blaine county.

Harvest near Homestead, Blaine county.

J. B. Buchanan, Edmond; View of Normal school building, 1893.

R. E. Clement, Yukon; Farm scene and view of his residence, taken July, 1904.

John Sebastian, G. P. A., Rock Island, Chicago; Colorado Springs mountain scene, 1893; frame and glass.

Exterior view of Lawton Republican office, with group of "faculty".

Interior view of Oklahoma City hospital.

Santa Fe depot construction scene, Oklahoma City.

J. E. Quein, Edmond; First church building in Oklahoma, 1889. First service was held by Father Scallow, June 24, 1889. (Since deceased in Utah).

Artist Brooks, Norman; Strip opening scene at Orlando, Sept. 16, 1893; Booth scene at Orlando, Sept. 16, 1893; Norman Main street, June 25, 1899.

Maurice Dusche, Union City; Rock Island wreck, Dec. 12, 1900.

E. W. Oliver, Oklahoma City; First postoffice at Oklahoma City after opening, April 22, 1889; street scene, Oklahoma City, April 22, 1889.

Musical Compositions

Albert B. Cottle, Muscogee, "Some Times". Musical Composition words by Hubert J. Wooten, Wewokee.

Thomas Daniel, Tangier, Okla.: "What Is Love with Loved Ones Far Away;" Words and Music original.

Musical composition, "Reginia Waltzes," Dennis Shaw, Jr., Alva.

Musical composition, "Watermelon Feast," Dennis Shaw, Jr., Alva.

Harriet Parker-Camden, Kingfisher, "Oklahoma, a Toast." Music and Words.

E. T. Rehfield, Harrison; (now of Okeene) "The Governor's March," by Mrs. Pauline Kinstle Rehfield, wife of donor.

J. S. Thomas, South McAlester. "I Long to Be There," words by J. H. Buxton, Pond Creek; music by Mrs. C. H. Buxton. "On the Cross," words by C. H. Buxton, music by Mrs. C. H. Buxton.

Oklahoma—General.

Hon. Sidney Clarke, Oklahoma City; Greer county case in U. S. Supreme court, three volumes; report of Secretary of Interior on same; also report of Directors of Carnegie Library, 1903; also collection of congressional reports.

Times-Journal, Oklahoma City; Reminiscence of Indian days, Battle of the Washita.

W. B. Matthews, Washington, D. C. Settlers map and guide book of Oklahoma and Indian Territory.

(Late) James J. Merrick of Chandler. Type written address on death of William McKinley in legislature of Oklahoma, Jan. 29, 1903; Morocco.

A. D. Marble, Oklahoma City; Original pamphlet on good roads, 1903.

Miller Brothers, Bliss, Okla.; Programs of exhibition June 11, 1905, with series of badges and copy of Bliss Breeze, illustrated.

Mrs. Emma Goodrich Dimmick, Pond Creek; Original poems.

A. H. Dent, Hennessy; Course of study, Hennessy schools, 1893.

(Late) H. C. St. Clair, Kingfisher; Copy of first statutes of Oklahoma.

J. C. Post, Kingfisher; Speech of Theodore Risley, democratic candidate for delegate to congress, August 22, 1892.

Charles H. Filson, Guthrie, Ancient map of Greer county.

Samuel Crocker bound volume of Oklahoma War Chief, Caldwell, Kansas, 1885, self as editor.

Oklahoma City, what it has to offer manufacturers of cotton fabrics, 1899, Clifton George.

Circular of C. A. Anderson, railroad promoter, Woodward, 1904.

Anti-Saloon League of Oklahoma, 1904, J. J. Thompson.

C. E. Pochel's "Kay county" descriptive Adv.

District court docket Cleveland county, 1895.

Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce by-laws, 1903.

Program Oklahoma horse show at Oklahoma City, 1903.

Educational Manual for teachers of Oklahoma county, 1902-3.

Schedule of lands in the Sac and Fox, Iowa and Pottawatomie reservation.

J. E. Quein, Edmond. Pencil manuscript of the late Milt W. Reynolds. Same. First course of studies of Edmond schools, 1890.

Rev. J. H. Aughey, Mulhall, Okla.. (now of Nebraska), "Tupelo" and "Spirit Gems',' 2 volumes, original, Same. Minutes first grand lodge G. L. S. of Oklahoma.

J. H. Parker, Kingfisher. Minutes of Congregational society of Oklahoma, 1890-1-3. Same Constitution and by-laws of Congregational society of Oklahoma.

John Enright, Perry, Okla., catalogue of Perry public library, 1890; Charter of city of Guthrie.

J. H. Murphy, Newton, Kansas. Murphy's map of Oklahoma, 1889.

Lincoln McKinlay, Newkirk. Collection of house calenders. Block from first Speakers' stand, Oklahoma legislature.

A. L. Tilton, Cleveland, Mo., Original minutes of first Oklahoma guards, with autograph letter.

C. Ross Hume, Anadarko. Wood from first "hub" driven in Kiowa reservation. Block of walnut with ancient bridle bit embedded.

Mort L. Bixler, Norman. Correspondence with editors on Galvested excursion, 1897; Wood with musket ball embedded from farm of W. R. Roselieus, near Norman.

A. D. Marble, Oklahoma City. Constitution for the new state. M.S.

J. L. Admire, Kingfisher. Compendium of Homestead Laws, by Free Press publishing company.

H. A. Boty, Kingfisher; proceedings S. S. convention at Dennison, Texas, 1893. Same. Conference of Methodist church of Oklahoma. 1893.

E. C. Yantees, Guthrie. Various early Oklahoma publications.

J. A. Mann, Kingfisher; Manuscript by-laws Kingfisher Times newspaper publishing company.

Boynton & Smith, Kingfisher; United States vs. citizens of Enid and Pond Creek; petition in full and names of 165 defendants. Case growing out of interference with Rock Island trains, 1893.

W. C. Cornelius, Kingfisher; Original House bill relating to county commissioners. Same, manuscript, original House Bill 109 relating to terms of officers; first legislative session.

J. P. Sampson, Duncan, I. T., Kiowa, Comanche and Arapahoe reservation 1894.

William Grimes, teritorial secretary, Guthrie—House and Council Calendars, 1903-5.

Bryan Snyder, of the Frisco, St. Louis—Oklahoma in a Nutshell.

John B. Stout, Waukomis—"How to Make Farming Pay," with original poems.

Manual of the Creek Tribes commission.

John A. Burt, Oklahoma City—Specimen of petrified Honey, found, French Lake Farm, Green county, Wis., July, 1904.

Fremont Boyle, County ballot, Caddo county, 1904, with candidates.

William Eathan Oxley, Cleo; Autobiography.

Roy Stafford, Oklahoma—Miscellaneous photos and scenes.

Marion Rock, ex-librarian Carnegie Library, Oklahoma City —Miscellaneous Photographs.

Scott Cummins, Winchester, Oklahoma—"Musings of the Pilgrim Bard," original Poems, cloth Original poem, "The Rough Rider."

Chamber of Commerce, Oklahoma City—Oklahoma City Illustrated bird's eye view, contains numerous views and photos; same—one hundred landscape views, photos, etc.

John Golobie, Guthrie—Proceedings Oklahoma Bar Association, 1904; Which is the Better Way, School Land Leasing.

W. A. Maxwell, Oklahoma City—Illustrated souvenir of Muscogee, 1904.

C. E. Verity, Oklahoma City—Glimpses Through Holdenville, illustrated.

Kyle Bros, South McAlester—Brief in U. S. Court, Indian territory, Hahn Bros. v. Bledsoe, et, al.

W. F. Bolton, Woodward—Correspondence relating to N. E. A. excursion to New Orleans, 1900; Same, Hot Springs, May, 1902.

Peter M. Sullivan, Oklahoma City—Our Corrupt Courts and Presidents.

W. Arthur Jennings—Illustrated Wewoka and vicinity.

T. C. Thoburn, Peabody, Kan.—Randolph B. Marcey's explorations of Red River, 1852, late George B. McClellan, engineer, illustrated with scenes in what is now Oklahoma; cloth with map.

Andrew H. Meeks, Kingfisher, (now of Nebraska)—Religious Thought, book, original. Same, Belief and Requirements of the True Church, pamphlet original. Same, Foundation Principal of True Religion.

Mrs. Dr. Fee, Kingfisher—A Keep Sake, by Mrs. Sarah D. Herrit, cloth.

Mary A. Humphrey—The Cook's Oracle, 1833; cloth.

A. C. Dolde—Keys to the city of Newkirk, editorial meeting, 1896.

O. H. Chase, Beaver City; Copy of first issue of Beaver Pioneer, by E. E. Henley, June 18, 1886; Beaver Tribune, May 30, 1890; Talleysheet of convention to select nominees to first Cimarron Territory legislature; Pamphlet review and other papers pertaining to Cimarron Territory: Original articles of incorporation Kansas, Beaver & Albuquerque Railroad Company, filed with William B. Ogden, secretary Cimarron Territory, January 2, 1888.

H. D. Todd, Fort Reno; Will of Robert Bent, first Indian will in Oklahoma.

A. R. Musseller, Alva; Manuscript poem delivered at Perry, November 21, 1898.

John Burton; Manuscript copy of proceedings involving title to S. E. quarter, section 27, 12 n, 3 w.

Josiah Strong; Original book, "Our Country, its Possible Future," etc.

Freeman E. Miller, Stillwater Advocate; "Oklahoma and Other Poems," cloth; "The Cow and Her Brother;" "Calling the (editorial) Roll;" "Oklahoma Sunshine, Poems," cloth; and other original poems.

Ex-Governor T. B. Ferguson; "The Oklahoma Book," 1904. Private Corporations of the Indian Territory.

Eighth Annual Report of the five civilized tribes.

T. B. Ferguson, Ex-Governor; "Complete official documents of 1905.

Horace W. Shepherd, Altus; Manuscript of his address before the Oklahoma Editorial Association, Oklahoma City, April 24, 1905.

Chickasaw, and Choctaws, History, Government, Treaties, etc.

C. F. Barrett of the Shawnee Herald; Constitution and by-laws Labor Assembly, 1901.

Marion Rock: The Envant; By-laws, Oklahoma City.

Jarboe-Butler Paper Co., Oklahoma City; "Story of Paper Making," cloth.

Frank Greer, Guthrie; Republican Platform of Oklahoma, 1904, with house committee report on Statehood, Cobb's map of Oklahoma.

Charles Filson, Guthrie; Oklahoma Republican Text Book, 1904.

F. C. Scinn, Guthrie; Political and biographical sketch, with picture of the late Edgar Jones of Logan county.

Hinds & Russell, South McAlester: Illustrated edition of Capital, 1904.

Eunice M. Munger, president Women's Relief Corps; Proceedings of convention at Norman, May, 1903.

John W. Edgell, South McAlester: State of Sequoyah, "1906." By J. A. Norman, Muscogee, illustrated. Same; New Era magazine, 1889, illustrated, descriptive of South McAlester. Stray copies Black Diamond.

A. T. Riley, Guthrie; "Oklahoma, its Growth, History, Etc." 1889. Same. Statistical Roster of Territory.

C. E. Hunter, of Hobart; "Oklahoma, 1904." Illustrated, descriptive of Hobart, Errick, Davidson and Sibony.

Howell & Gill, South McAlester. First Directory of South McAlester.

G. A. Smith, Chandler. "Freeholders or Tenants," by self, 1904.

Genevieve Foster Longston, Ardmore, "Orio," illustrated, literary, Ardmore, 1903.

H. C. Gibbs, Anadarko, City Directory, Anadarko, 1903; city ordinances of Anadarko, 1904; manuscript description of Caddo county.

Bert Greer, Muscogee Times. Kendall Collegian, Thanksgiving number, 1904. Year Book, 1904-5, Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the Indian Territory.

Douglas & Merriam, Muscogee. Century edition of the "Phoenix" January, 1904, Illustrated. Acts and Resolutions of the National Council of the Muscogee Nation, 1900. Este Maskoke Etvlwv Emvhakv Empvtakv momet Emvhakv. Etohtvlhocvtet os Ot'voskv Rvkko ennetta 15, 1892. Vhakv Hakvte vcvkvyen. (Constitution and laws of the Muscogee Tribe, translated from the English, October 15, 1892), by D. C. Watson. Roster of Creek Indians who voluntarily immigrated from Alabama to the Indian Territory, in 1839. Laws governing private corporations in the Indian Territory. Creek Treaty of February, 1901, and Supplemental Creek Agreement. Bradley's Manual Statistical information Indian Territory, Muscogee, 1902, illustrated.

M. R. Moore, Muscogee. Brief History of Missionary work in the Indian Territory of the Indian Mission conference, M. E. Church, South, by F. M. Moore, father of the donor, cloth bound. Directory of the city of Muscogee, 1903-4, two volumes.

Allison L. Aylesworth, Secretary Dawes commission, Muscogee. Eighth and Tenth annual reports Five Civilized Tribes, 1901-3; two volumes, 200 pages each, besides maps of various Tribal possessions, cities, etc. Laws.

W. C. Tullis, Muscogee Unionist. Copies Amalgamator, Muscogee, including first issue.

Hearings of the committee on Territories, 1902-4.

Statehood for Oklahoma, Robert L. Owens, 1904.

Catalogue Logan county High School 1904.

Edgar B. Marchant, Aline, Okla. Report of the Oklahoma Commission, Louisiana Purchase.

J. B. Campbell, Waukomis Hornet. Spring Reunion Scottish Rite Masons of Oklahoma, 1905. C. A. Cunningham; Old Favorite Songs, Hornet Publishing Co. List Hennessy Fair, 1896, and other Fair matters Payne's Oklahoma Text Book for 1882.

Edna Campbell, Drummond, Oklahoma. Mrs. Bullard's "Ride of Death," manuscript original, with photo.

Dennis T. Flynn, Oklahoma City. Incidents connected with the passage and signing of the Free Homes Bill, manuscript, with the pens used by Speaker Henderson, Secretary Hitchcock and President McKinley in signing same.

Sidney Clark, Oklahoma City. Manuscript on proceedings in Congress in the formation of Oklahoma as a Territory.

Robert M. Carr, Guthrie. Silk banner used in parade on President's Day, St. Louis, November 24, 1904 Elegant silk, cost $100. Silk motto banner from Oklahoma building, St. Louis.

Christmas edition of the Wynnewood New Era, Descriptive. Hilary S. Shackelford.

South McAlester New Era Magazine, March 1899, John W. Edgell.

Souvenir edition South McAlester Capital, September 7, 1901, illustrated.

Illustrated edition Sapulpa Light, April 21, 1905.

Wagoner Seminary announcement, 1896.

Fred Wenner, Guthrie—Visitors Record used in Oklahoma buildings, exposition at Chicago and St. Louis—eleven bound volumes. Complete set public documents of Portugal on exhibit at Paris and St. Louis exposition—twenty volumes.

Andrew Allen Veatch, Bokoshe, I. T.; Original poems, "Lays from Sunn Land."

J. B. Thoburn, Guthrie—"Gwendine," by Mrs. Graham Lewis, Oklahoma City; cloth.

Chickasha, "The Gem of the Washita," 1905; illustrated souvenir, with bird's eye view.

Ancient Quary in the Indian Territory, illustrated.

Kendall College Collegian, Muscogee, Thanksgiving, 1905.

Oklahoma City, illustrated birds-eye view, 245 pages, Chamber of Commerce.

Oklahoma State Capital, illustrated, April 22, 1889-1904.

Five Civilized Tribes Appeal for Justice.

Western Land Guide, Detroit, Mich., 1895.

Snowden Parlett, Guthrie—Reference outlines of Government; cloth.

A. W. C. Weeks, Oklahoma City—The Squib, Oklahoma City, January 1-8, 1904; magazine, J. S. Brooks Co. O. C. Soots (Only two numbers issued.)

Jarboe Butler Paper Company—Souvenir metalic match safe.

Constitution of Cloud Chief Protective Association.

Paper of E. L. Blake, of El Reno before the Bar Association, January, 1899; Statehood question reviewed.

Statehood Convention review, Shawnee, December 4, 1895.

Argument of R. W. McAdam before Committee on Territories, January, 1894.

Proceedings Republican convention at Kingfisher, March, 1896. Flynn nominated for delegate to congress.

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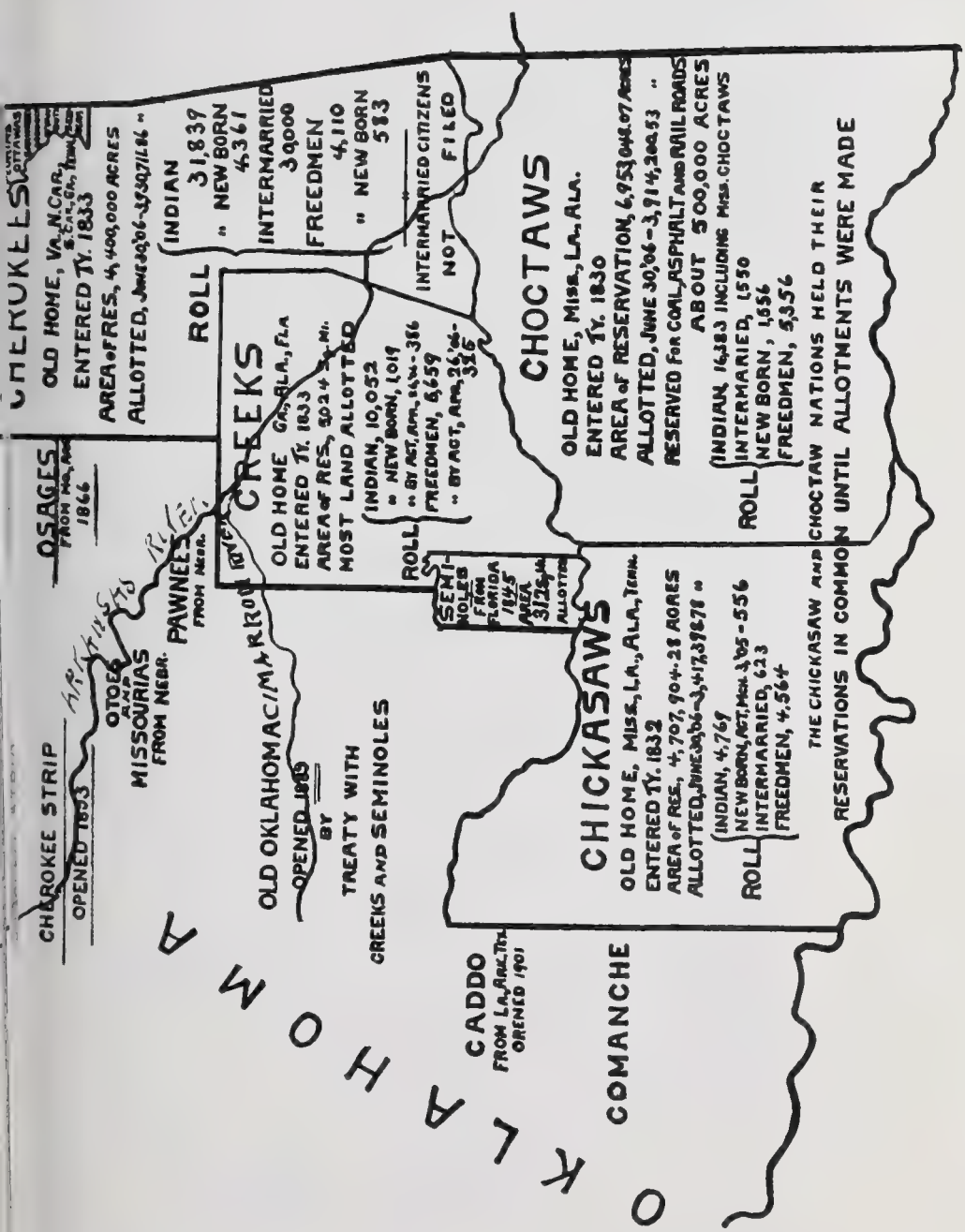

Old Map published about 1900, showing data and locations of Indian nations and tribes in eastern half of present state, or the last "Indian Territory."

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Bartlesville Pointer, (Daily)* Tucker Bros.
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Clearview Tribune, E. D. Lyford.*
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Clarkville Echo, James E. Guess.*
Cornish Reasoner, G. A. Reed.*
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Crowder City Advertiser, J. D. Tignor.
Coalgate Independent, J. Y. Bryce.*
Eufaula Tribune, Virgil E. Winn.
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Johnston, Pa., Tribune, A. H. Walters.
Lecompton, Kansas, Sun, W. B. Iliff.
Bradford, Pa., Sun-Herald, Ada Cable.
Unionspring, Ala., Bullock County Breeze, J. C. Lawrence.
Indianola, Wis., Sunflower Tocsin, J. A. Richardson.
Seattle, Washington, Trade Register.
Ensley, Ala., Ensley Herald, R. T. Bently.
Geneva, Neb., Nebraska Signal, Frank Edgecombe.
Baraboo, Wis., Baraboo News, H. E. Cole & A. D. Dorsett.
Big Rapids, Mich., Big Rapids Herald, Olmstead Publishing Co.
Big Rapids, Mich., Evening Bulletin.
Hastings, Minn., Hastings Gazette, Irving Todd & Son.
Noblesville, Indiana, Noblesville Daily Ledger, W. H. Craig & R. S. Tenitt.
Clinton, Ill., Clinton Register, Hughes Brothers.
Tipton, Indiana, Tipton Advocate, W. H. & E. T. Staley.
Middletown, Pa., Middletown Press, I. O. Nissley.
Madison, Maine, Madison Bulletin, E. A. Merriman.
Castlerock, Colo., Castlerock Journal, S. S. Case.
New Haven, Conn., New Haven Echo.
Nokomis, Ill., Free Press Gazette, Weid & Webster.
Angola, Indiana, Angola Magnet, Rose & Willis.
Winchester, Ohio, The Times, E. F. & O. T. Gayman.
Winchester, Indiana, Winchester Journal, Beeson Brothers.
Belle Plaine, Kansas, Belle Plaine News, J. B. Caine.
Caro, Michigan, Tuscola County Advertiser, A. D. Gallery.
New Paris, Ohio, New Paris Journal, Bloom & Raney.
London, Ohio, Madison County Democrat, C. E. & O. M. Bryan.

SARAH ANN HARLAN: FROM HER MEMOIRS OF LIFE IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

By Muriel H. Wright

(Continued from Summer, 1961)

Introduction

Sarah Ann Harlan dictated her memoirs at the age of eighty-four years, in 1913. The first part of her story appeared in *The Chronicles* for summer, 1961, in which she related incidents of her childhood on the family plantation near the Alabama-Mississippi state line.[1] Her parents were Sampson Moncrief of French-English descent and Sophia (Braschier) Moncrief of Choctaw-Scotch descent. Through her mother's Choctaw family line, Sarah Ann and her own family had the right to occupy land and make their home in the Choctaw Nation West. In 1850, she and her first husband, Erasmus Bryant Hawkins, with their infant daughter, Julia Vermelle, came to the Indian Territory to make their home near Skullyville, the Choctaw Agency village fourteen miles west of Fort Smith on the Arkansas line.

Sarah Ann with her husband and little daughter came west with her two sisters and their husbands and children, traveling by boat down the Tombigee River from the landing near their old home to Mobile, Alabama, thence across Lake Ponchartrain to New Orleans. Here is the account of the journey to Fort Smith:

Cholera was raging in New Orleans, and we were anxious to take the first boat out. It was an old boat and not a very safe one by the name of *Alvarado*. We had not gone up the Mississippi very far, when we found we were not in a first-class boat. Nevertheless, we would have taken anything to get away from the cholera. We found that nearly all the officers and hands were thieves. We had a single brother along, and they broke into his trunk and stole a number of articles. After this, he brought his money and gave it to one of my sisters saying, "I sleep so soundly I am afraid I'll be robbed." We kept this very quiet, and kept a watch out. One night we saw one of the captain's boys with a little fancy hat that my mother had sent to my brother's little boy who lived in the west. Then our husbands went to the captain and said "Here is the one who has broken into our brother's trunk." So, the captain made him produce all the little trinkets and things that belonged to my brother. We had very great fear, for we knew we were among a den of thieves. We traveled on, and in a night or two Mr. McCarty, my brother-in-law, found that his state room was being broken into. We tried to keep good watch; and when this fellow reached in to grab the trunk, my brother-in-law cut at him with a pocket knife and cut his arm, so that stopped him. Then he awoke all the rest of us, and notified us of what was going on. We expected to be murdered. We traveled on a little farther, and one very foggy night, the river being

[1] *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, p. 158.

very high and the levee breaking in some places, our boat ran into the levee and tied us up for two days. We signaled every boat that passed, but no one would come to our aid. We learned in after years that steam boats were like everything else: they had a monopoly, and they would not pull us off. Finally a White River boat came to our rescue. This boat being loaded with salt in sacks, the officers pressed passengers and all into service, carrying sacks from the prow to the stern of the boat. They were over half a day getting us off; but we were glad to get off, for we thought our boat would sink.

In those days, we did not pay passage until we got to the end of our journey, so the captain had to beg the passengers to help him out by paying half of their fare in order that he might pay the captain of the White River boat to pull him off, and we did so. I was the only one of my sisters who was anxious to see and know everything that was being done, and I know this to be so.

There was not much sleeping done by the men from there to the mouth of the Arkansas river. We found we were in another den of thieves. Where the Mississippi backed up into the Arkansas river there was a sea of water: nothing but water as far as the eye could penetrate. An old steam boat was tied up at the wharf to receive passengers and freight, and it was a dismal looking place. Napoleon was the name of this place at the mouth or the Arkansas river. Finding that we were among thieves and cut throats, none of us slept that night but the children. None of us undressed. We landed about dark, and had to stay all night. The next morning, an Arkansas boat came along, the *Western Water Lady,* it was called, so we took passage on her. There were so many drifts and so much danger on the Arkansas river that we made slow progress. It took us a whole week to get up to Ft. Smith.

Just as the steamboat with the travelers abroad pushed off from Van Buren, Sarah Ann's oldest sister's baby drew its last breath. A few hours later, a rough little coffin was hurriedly made while cargo was unloaded at Fort Smith. Ten miles up the Arkansas River, the child was buried near the grounds of old Fort Coffee on a bluff above the river.[2] Soon after the funeral, Sarah Ann and her young niece carried water from the deep well to their camp in the abandoned guardhouse.[3] Just as they stepped through the door, Sarah Ann fell stricken with cholera and knew nothing for many days. Within a few hours, her niece was dead. After recovering from the cholera, Sarah Ann suffered a long spell of "winter fever," and saw two more babies among her relatives die of cholera. Recalling those tragic days, she said, "I began to think everybody must die. I still thank the Lord that those two babies were the last. I remained at my brother's house a month. My sister-in-law put my baby in her baby's place."

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2 Fort Coffee was a garrisoned U.S. military post from 1834 to 1838. When Sarah Ann stopped here in 1850, the old post was occupied as a school, Fort Coffee Academy for Choctaw boys. This location is about 8 miles north and east of Spiro, in LeFlore county.

3 The deep, rock-walled well that furnished water for the garrison at old Fort Coffee is one of the last, if not the last, vestiges remaining (1961) on the grounds of this early day military post.

Early in the winter when all were well again, the three families went over to Skullyville where Samuel Rutherford was Choctaw Agent, and had their names placed on the Choctaw rolls by his clerk, Tom Drennan. A year's rations were issued to everyone in the party including their Negro slaves, under the Government's Indian removal program, the items consisting of meat, corn (dry for meal), coffee, sugar and salt, with the privilege of taking cattle in lieu of the year's supply of meat. The three families then went to make their new homes in the outlying region of Skullyville. Sarah Ann and her husband, taking rations in cattle instead of meat so they could have milk and butter, rented a crude log cabin near the village where he began the carpenter's trade: "Skullyville commenced to put on a new dress of civilization. He had all the could do."

Life was hard and lonely in the new country. Sarah Ann would brace up in the morning, saying "Well, I'll not cry this day." Sometimes, friendly old Choctaws would come by to see her, and give her a venison ham, which sixty years later brought this observation: "Indians used to divide the last quart of corn they had with each other; but they have learned better in this day and time." She said that she was "always a good mixer" with people so she attended the Choctaw ball games and "funeral cries," in the community. Then she would relate her experiences to her sisters when she went to visit them occasionally in their homes many miles away. She describes a quilting party at Skullyville: :

So, not long after this, there came a lot of Indian women to invite me to a quilting. Quilting was the order of the day then, and they always had a big pow-wow. The men furnished the meat and barbecued it, and wild game as well. Well, I went to the first one, and saw barbecued beeves, hogs, venison, and thought it enough to satisfy an army. I was always treated royally. The Indians kept coming until I verily believe there must have been six or seven hundred people at this quilting. They had arbours all over the ground, and the quilts were hung in thm. They were beautifully pieced. Here I prided myself that my mother had taught me to quilt beautifully; I knew my quilting would not be criticized. An old lady by the name of Hall who ran a hotel at Skullyville, and who, by the way, was my brother's mother-in-law, was one of the examiners of the quilting. [4]When she got to me she said,

[4] This was Mrs. Susan Hall, Choctaw wife of William Hall whose grave is seen as one of the earliest burials in the old Skullyville cemetery. Among their children were Margaret, Jane, and Joseph R. Hall. Margaret married Sarah Ann Harlan's brother, William Moncrief who erected the first building at Fort Arbuckle (1852). Jane Hall was the second wife of David Folsom, noted as the first elected Choctaw chief under the Choctaw constitution of 1826. Joseph Hall was a classmate of Allen Wright (Choctaw chief, 1866-70), graduated from Union College, Schenectady, New York (1852) where he was a member of Sigma Chi Fraternity. Joseph Hall served as National Secretary of the Choctaw Nation. He enlisted and was commissioned Captain of Co. 2 H, First Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, Confederate States Army (1861), and died at Fort Smith during the War.

"Well, you quilt fine." I remarked to her, "Mother taught me to quilt."

Now, you see, this was bordering on civilization. Prizes were given to the best quilters. I received a strand of white and red beads. They were real pretty. I wish that I had had sense enough to preserve those beads. Even to this day I watch bead counters to see if I can duplicate those beads. I would enjoy myself at all these big gatherings, but they failed to drive the tears away. You know old man Time does all those healing properties.

The next year (1851) after coming west, the Hawkins' family moved to an improved place on land east of the Poteau River, having in charge a number of slaves belonging to Sarah Ann's father back in Alabama. The new home was still in the Skullyville region. She notes "The spirit of progression had started in that country then, and my husband could get lots of work, and the Negroes could raise little patches of corn and potatoes. We moved in January, and on March 4th, the stork brought me a baby boy, so we adopted him and kept him.[5]

During a cold, spring blizzard late in the same March, 1851, Erasmus Hawkins died of "hemorrhage of the lungs . . . a very religious man, and a true, devoted husband." Sad days had come but Sarah Ann went on her way through her "own determination" and the help of her "good brothers-in-law and sisters." One time, she made the long trip back home to Alabama, on a visit. Then she later returned to Alabama again to help her father and take care of her youngest brother and sister after her mother, Sophia Moncrief, died (1853). When Sampson Moncrief grew restless and Sarah Ann longed to go back to the Indian Territory, James McCarty, brother-in-law, was asked to come to Alabama to help settle the Sophia Moncrief estate, and move the Negro slaves west. Sarah Ann gives a description of this her third journey to the Indian Territory:

The Negroes were very much opposed to moving; did not want to go West; thought they would freeze to death. My father instructed my brother-in-law that if I did not want to go by private conveyance, to send me back by water. I wanted to go by water, but the Negroes plead with me to go by carriage with them, as it would be so lonely for them and if I would go with them, I would not even have to get out of the hack until the tent was put up and everything ready. You may depend on it, when we stopped to camp for the night, I waited until supper was ready, and everything else was ready, before I got out of the hack. It was a long, tedious drive. Some days in the Mississippi bottom, we would travel very slowly; and one day in particular, we only went five miles.

We came to a beautiful lake called Moon lake. We stayed over there a day, the Negroes doing up the washing and the men fishing. We had a nice time. A gentleman living near the lake found that we were from Alabama. He was very kind to us, offering us everything we needed, and asked me and my sister-in-law, Sampson Moncrief's

[5] The baby was named Sampson Hawkins.

wife, to stay in his house at night. I thanked him very kindly, and told him it would spoil me to stay in a house.

The next day while traveling along the road, some Negro children in one of the wagons ahead in the train were playing when one of them, a little boy about five years old, fell out and was run over by the wagon wheels crushing his chest. Sarah Ann jumped out of her carriage, and gathered the little fellow in her arms as he moaned, "Oh! Miss Sarah, I'm going to die." When he died a few hours later, all the Negroes were sad, and "sang no more for several days. Before that, they would walk along, and sing songs. They walked all the way but never travelled over fifteen miles a day."

Sarah Ann's own account of her life continues here:

The Memoirs

We got along very well then. We passed through Grand Prairie [Arkansas], which is now a flourishing country. When we crossed it, I remarked, "Well, this is the most God forsaken country I ever saw." There was one lone cabin about the middle of the prairie. It took us two days to cross. We camped at this cabin. Two very old people lived in it. The weather was cold, and there was snow and sleet on the ground. I begged them to let me sleep on the floor. They just had a puncheon floor, and they gave me permission to sleep there. Not many know what a puncheon floor is. Well, it is logs split open with the flat side up and the rough side down. I was very tired and cold, and slept as though I had been in a downy bed. My brother-in-law paid this man ten dollars for wood for camp fire for night and morning. My two brothers, myself, and the family, drove to the nearest belt of timber where we stopped and built fires to warm by while the others were coming on. I quickly jumped out, gathered brush while the boys felled some trees. We soon had a big fire. I said to my Negro mammy and to my sister-in-law, "Let us cook a big dinner to warm them up when they come." So we did. It was like cooking for a regiment. We had everything ready when they came. We were in the habit of having a big kettle of whiskey stew every morning, my brother-in-law giving it out to the Negroes according to age and size. This was to keep sickness from getting into camp. This morning we omitted it and took it at dinner. They gave me a great deal of credit for cooking dinner. I told them it was a necessity more than pleasure. We remained there that afternoon.

After we passed Ft. Smith, it commenced snowing again. The Negroes had never been used to snow lying on the ground, and they were very much dissatisfied. That night we got to my brother-in-law's place and pitched the tents, but thanks to

goodness I did not have to tent that night. There were so many Negroes it was impossible to house them except in tents. The evening of the next day my sister sent for me. I was glad to get away for once, for I wanted a little retirement. There I made my home. In those days Negroes hired for a mere pittance. I hired mine out, and got five dollars a month for each grown Negro. In those days we had no ready made clothing. Everything was home made. I remember I made some fine linen shirts for a couple of doctors, Dr. Bumford and Dr. Shumard. The bosoms were in very dainty little plaits, making them very elaborate and they were all made by hand.

During my stay back in Alabama a friend of mine, in Arkansas, by the name of John Patton moved into a part of the country called James Fork, buying land there. It was pretty well settled, but the people were as ignorant as rats. Mr. Patton came to me and wanted me to teach school. I told him I could not teach school.

He said, "Yes, you can, there are about forty children there that don't know their A B C's." I asked him why he didn't teach them. He said he had to work on his farm. He insisted, so I agreed.

He went around and got up the school by subscription. They came on Saturday with a wagon and took me out there to teach. I found it just as he had said. There were grown girls there who didn't know a letter in the book. Some of them were right pretty girls, but knew so little. They had never seen Ft. Smith. I felt very sorry for them. Some years later this same gentleman who asked me to go to James Fork, came again and wanted me to go and teach, and I went. I found them about as ignorant as I had left them.

I commenced this school in the summer. In September I took sick. I worried on with the school until the first of October, when I was taken bedfast. I was carried to Mr. McCarty's, and called in one Dr. Spring. When I became convalescent my sister thought best for me not to try it again, as that was a malarial country.

About this time I made the acquaintance of Aaron Harlan, he paying his address to me. My sisters and brothers thought very well of him. I weighed the matter well, and feared it was a big undertaking. He was a widower with six children and I a widow with two. I told him I was afraid I could not fill the place of a mother and that I would not be the cause of motherless children leaving their home. I told him that if I could not fill the place and gain their love, that sometime when he was away on one of his trips, I would leave and change my name; it would be my real name but he would never find me.

He said, "I know my children love you, they have said as much to me often."

And to my great joy they did, and I loved them. No one ever could have told which were mine. We were both determined to fill our places, and we did. We were married in November, 1855. We lived very happily. Never were stepchildren more devoted to stepmother.

The Move to Tishomingo

About this time the Choctaw Nation was in a very flourishing condition. My husband took a trip away out into the Chickasaw Nation to see how business was in that country. He was a merchant in Ft. Smith and business had become dull. He found the Chickasaw Nation an ideal place for his business. He made arrangements, that fall, to move out. He went out and secured a house, found a very worthy young man there by the name of G. B. Hester, left him in charge, came back and proceeded to send his stock of goods to Tishomingo.[6] He left me with the children at our home, after starting all his wagon loads of goods from Ft. Smith. He, himself, started to go to this place but fell sick on the road. He sent a runner for me with a request to send Dr. Spring. It was sixty miles to where he was at a place known as The Narrows, a wide gap in the mountain.[7] I told the Doctor to go as hard as he could on horseback. I overtook him. I was in a hack with a gentleman by the name of Ainsworth. . . . . We reached The Narrows about ten o'clock and found my husband very, very sick with pneumonia. We stayed there about ten days, the doctor remaining all that time. Then he said by being careful with him [Mr. Harlan], and traveling very slowly, we could take him home. . . . . He improved, and regretted that he could not go to

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6 George B. Hester, born in Granville County, North Carolina, in 1831, came to Tishomingo in 1855. He became a clerk in the trading establishment of Aaron Harlan, and was appointed postmaster at Tishomingo when the first post office was established there on June 29, 1857. (George H. Shirk, "First Postoffices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 2). At the outbreak of the Civil War, Hester was appointed quartermaster in the First Choctaw Regiment of the Confederate States Army, and served throughout the War in the Indian Territory. During the War, he moved to Boggy Depot, the principal Confederate commissary depot north of Texas. In 1866, he entered into business with John P. Kingsbury, merchant of Boggy Depot, and after the latter's death in 1867, continued this trading partnership with the Kingsbury heirs until 1879. In the meantime, Mr. Hester moved his family and home to the site of New Boggy, about 2 miles from Old Boggy Depot, where he died in 1897.

7 The Narrows is a pass on Brazil Creek in the hills about 3 miles northeast of present Red Oak, Latimer County. This was the location of Holloway's Station on the Butterfield Overland Mail route where Aaron Harlan lay ill.

Tishomingo as there was a big annuity there paying $150.00 per capita, which made business good.

Mr. Hester proved a good salesman and would write telling my husband how many thousand dollars he had taken in. Replenishing the stock was like starting a new store. We again made preparations to move but my husband was not yet well.

About this time my father [Sampson Moncrief] was missing. A Negro man came and told us he had been gone so many days and that his pony had come home alone. Later his dog came home and searching parties followed him to the fork of the Poteau and Arkansas Rivers, but without success. My two brothers-in-law had gone back to Alabama to settle up the business there. It was night when the message came. I told my husband he must go. It was ten miles to where my father lived.

We sent out runners and offered a reward of $10,000 for my father's body. The country was full of searchers but he was never found. The river was frozen from bank to bank. There was a search of three days and during that time we sent a young man to Ft. Arbuckle for my oldest brother to come and take charge of the estate. This was in January, 1856. This prevented our moving to Tishomingo for the time being.

My brother came and we still persisted in the search for my father. We hired men to search the banks and borders of the Poteau and Arkansas Rivers but no signs of him could be found. There were no banks in Ft. Smith at this time and my father, having quite a sum of money, always carried it with him. He was traced by his dog that followed him down into the Poteau bottom where the Arkansas and Poteau make a bend that brings them close together. We supposed he was murdered for his money. We never could find any trace of it although we knew he had about $20,000 in gold.

Some people thought the Negroes murdered my father but a statement we had from a Mr. Warren[8] who saw him and talked with him as he was going to Ft. Smith convinced us that the Negroes did not commit the murder.

My brother, William Moncrief, took my father's estate in charge. My husband and I would have nothing to do with it.

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[8] Abel Warren, a native of Massachusetts born 1814, was a wealthy trader of Fort Smith. He operated a western trading post—"Warren's Post"—on Upper Red River at the mouth of Cache Creek (present Cotton County) from about 1840 to 1846. During the Civil War, he refugeed with his Negro slaves and cattle near present Denison, Fannin County, Texas, at a location known as "Warren Flats," where he had established his first trading venture in 1836.—W. H. Clift, "Warren's Trading Post," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 2 (June, 1924), pp. 120-140.

My brother had great difficulty but after four months of hard work, he succeeded in settling the estate of Sampson Moncrief with all the heirs. The payment of $2,000 due on my land in Alabama was brought and turned over to me.

Soon afterward, my brother-in-law, James McClain died of pneumonia. After his death, we made ready again to move to Tishomingo in wagons. We first rented some of the cabins there and then engaged carpenters to build us a home. We remained in Tishomingo until nearly the close of the Civil War.[9]

Before I left Arkansas for the Chickasaw nation one of my brothers married my husband's second daughter. I left the oldest and third daughters in school at St. Anne's Academy, Ft. Smith. The oldest girl became dissatisfied and wrote me she was going to quit school and stay with her married sister until school closed, which was in May when they would come home.

I had always promised myself to give my children an education; I had always felt the great need of it myself. There was an academy about three miles away, but that was only for the Chickasaws. I did not want to send the children away to school, as they were all small except this daughter; so we wrote to friends in Bonham, Texas, to know if they could tell us where we might get a governess. They told us of a widow, whom I wrote to, and secured her services. She was a very well educated lady with the exception of French, Latin, and music, which was a disappointment, as my third daughter, Belle, was well advanced in those three studies. She only stayed with us five months, so I sent Bell back to Ft. Smith to take up these studies again in St. Anne's Academy.

After this we got a young lady from Georgia, a Miss Lizzie Fulton.[10] She was well qualified in everything, except in music. I kept her for about two years, then sent my daughter back to

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[9] The two foregoing paragraphs are paraphrased from the original manuscript.

[10] Elizabeth Fulton, born in North Georgia in 1839, was the daughter of Rev. Defau Tallerand Fulton, Methodist missionary from Virginia. She graduated from Southern Masonic Female Seminary, Covington, Georgia, 1855. The next year she came to Tishomingo where she taught the children of Mr. and Mrs. Harlan, and subsequently served as a teacher in Robinson's Academy, the Chickasaw boys' school about three miles southeast of town. She married George B. Hester at Tishomingo in 1858. They moved to Boggy Depot in 1861. Mrs. Hester was prominently known in community affairs and in the work of the Methodist Church throughout her life. She died at Muskogee in 1929. Some of her reminiscences, particularly of the Civil war period at Old Boggy Depot, are found in the article by E. McCurdy Bostick, "Elizabeth Fulton Hester," *(Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 4). Mr. and Mrs. Hester were the parents of two daughters: Fannie married a Mr. Perry; and Daisy married Robert L. Owen of the Cherokee Nation, who served as U.S. Senator from Oklahoma, 1907-1913, 1913-1919.

St. Anne's Academy. It was, at that time, the only good school in Ft. Smith.

On the Butterfield Overland Mail Stage

About this time the Government of the United States made a contract with a company by the name of Butterfield, to run a stage line carrying U.S. mail, and passengers from Rockford, Illinois, to San Francisco, California, running direct through the Indian Territory.[11] We thought this a grand thing that now we could get mail, and it would come through so much faster. We considered it a well equipped road.

About this time, my husband went east to buy goods, and fell sick at Ft. Smith, sending a young man by the name of Henry Falconer after me with word not to come by stage but to come in a buggy and bring ten thousand dollars. This ten thousand dollars was to pay the balance on the stock of goods he had purchased. We traveled the 160 miles, staying over night at Indian houses, the Indians saying as they unloaded the buggy, "Iskuli heap," ("lots of money"). They knew I had lots of money but I had no fear of being robbed.

When I got to Ft. Smith I found my husband quite sick. I stayed a week. He said I had better leave the buggy at Mr. McCarty's, that he could bring the buggy home and that I could go back in the stage.

Well, that stage was pretty rough riding. It was progression, and it sure shook you up and made you *think* progression. It went within twenty miles of our home.

My husband was sick quite a long time. I stayed at home a few weeks, then told my children I must go and see how their father was getting along. I went and found him no better. Dr. Spring and Dr. Main were attending him. He was at the St. Charles hotel. I went out in to the city the second day,—I say city, it did look like a city then. It did not look like the place I first saw in 1850. While out on my walk I went into one Dr. Kayser's offce. This Dr. Kayser married a niece of mine. I told him I did not think my husband was getting any better. Dr.

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11 The Butterfield Overland Mail stages ran from Tipton, Missouri, to San Francisco, California, via Fort Smith, through Indian Territory (Walker's Station to Colbert's on Red River), Texas, New Mexico, Arizona to Los Angeles and north. Passengers were taken on at stage stations along the way, coming from any point which included Rockford, Illinois.—"Report on the Butterfield Overland Mail," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Winter, 1958-59), pp. 442-72; Muriel H. Wright, "Historic Places on the Old Stage Line from Fort Smith to Red River," *ibid.* Vol. XI, No. 2 (June, 1933), pp. 798-822; Vernon H. Brown, "American Airlines along the the Butterfield Mail Route, *ibid.*" Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (Spring, 1955), pp. 2-13.

Kayser was a splendid physician but a man with a dreadful temper. The doctors of Ft. Smith did not have much to do with him except in dangerous cases. He told me he could cure my husband; but would have nothing to do with him in connection with the other doctors. . . . . The other doctors were good friends of my husband and told him to get anyone he wanted.

Dr. Kayser wanted him moved across the Poteau to his own house where he could be kept entirely free from any excitement. He was pleased and so was I. Late that evening we ordered a splendid hack from the livery stable and took him over. Dr. Kayser told him it would take a long time to cure him, but he would be a well man. In a few days, he put a silk cord as large as my finger through my husband's back and would move it twice a day. I stayed there a week and then took the stage for home. The conductor told me that they were loaded and that the company was not compelled to take extra passengers, advising me to go over to Skullyville. That would be the next stand.[12]

I went out late in the evening, hiring a buggy to take me out. I knew they would have to stay all night in Skullyville and eat breakfast there. This was in January and very cold weather. Next morning I heard the horn just about daybreak. I began to dress. Pretty soon the door opened and a lady came in. It was dark, just had a candle light. Coal oil in those days we knew nothing about. There was a lady stopping at the City Hotel who wanted to go to Paris, Texas. I had written her a note and suggested that we hire a rig and go on. She was a widow, and I, thinking this was the woman because she was dressed in mourning, said, "Are you the widow that was stopping at the City Hotel?"

She straightened up and very indignantly said, "I am no widow."

I told her that there *was* a widow who wanted to leave for Paris and that I had proposed to her that we hire a conveyance.

She seemed so indignant that I said, "I would not hurt you if you were a widow, and how do I know but what you are?"

Just then the bell rang for breakfast. I was planning to get even with her. I know that was not right but I did it. We were

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12 This was Walker's Station (the old Choctaw Agency, then owned by Gov. Tandy Walker of the Choctaw Nation). Mrs. Harlan took the Butterfield Overland Mail stage, westward bound, traveling the Butterfield route (Ft. Smith-Boggy Depot Road) via present Red Oak, Wilburton, Higgins (Latimer County), Ti Valley (Pittsburg County), Wesley, Stringtown, Atoka, Boggy Depot (Atoka County).

sitting at the table. In that day they always made cornbread for breakfast as well as biscuits, the bread being made in loaves. I knew she was a Yankee. I did not take any myself, but passed it to her. She took the loaf in her hands and took two or three *gazes*. I said, "If you want any of it, break a piece off or cut it off, the rest would like to have some." She took a piece, handed the loaf back, and I helped myself.

Colonel Leflore, a lawyer and friend of mine, saw that there was something wrong, but asked no questions.[13] He said, "I must fix a rock for you today, it is so cold." He prepared the rock and put it in the stage. When the conductor yelled "all aboard," she ran and jumped into the stage, pulled the rock over by her and put her feet on it. Colonel Leflore remarked what a hard trip it would be on me, and asked if the rock would keep hot until we got dinner. I turned to her, pulled the rock from under her feet and said, "*This* rock was put here for my special benefit. If you can derive any benefit from its being under my feet, all right." I had not yet got all the revenge I wanted.

We traveled all day, did not stop for dinner but stopped the next run for supper. We changed horses every ten or twelve miles, and drivers, too, but not conductors—the conductor called out supper for those in the stage. I knew this place, and knew they never had decent meals.

When we went in I saw a half dozen eggs lying on the bed, and put those eggs in the fire place to cook. When I came back in I pulled them out, dropped them in a pan of water and then put them in my hand satchel. She ran off and forgot to pay for her supper. I called to her and said, "Come back and pay for your supper, even if you are a Yankee. It's only twenty-five cents." I wanted to catch her.

Well, we traveled on, miring down and prizing out, miring down and prizing out. She had traveled all the way from Rockford, Illinois, and finally got awfully sleepy. I said, "If you want to sleep, lie down on my lap and I will let you sleep." That was the first word I had said to her after calling her down. She thanked me very kindly, and told me she was on her way from Rockford. When day was just breaking I said, "I am very sleepy; wish you would get up." She asked me to lay my head in her lap, which I did, and went to sleep.

We soon came to a creek. Campers along the creek said to the driver, "The creek is swimming," but they drove in. I was asleep when the water splashed all over the stage. We were

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13 Campbell Leflore, nephew of Greenwood Leflore who had been the leading Choctaw chief that promoted the Treaty of 1830 providing for the removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory.

immersed in water. I jumped up and said, "What does all this mean?" I soon saw that we were in great danger, and the curtains were all keyed down with iron rods. I heard voices on the bank. There was a gentleman on the stage going to Texas. I asked him if he could swim. He said he could, a little, and I asked him if he could not save us ladies. He said he was afraid we might drown him. I said, "You haven't any heart, or you would risk that." Death was staring us in the face. I asked him if he had a knife.

He said, "Yes, do you want to kill me?"

I said, "No, do you think I would send my soul to hell for such a little pea looking object as you? Give me your knife quick."

He opened it and handed it to me.

I ripped the curtain open from top to bottom. Then I said, "Oh! is there not a man who can save us?"

One of the campers said, "I'll try."

He plunged in. He was on a very small gray mule. Getting up as near the stage as he could, he turned the mule loose and said, "Now, I am a good swimmer, but can't get any closer. You leap. If you don't catch anything, you shall not drown."

I said, "I am going first, I have got too much to live for." I believe in protecting self first. I made a leap. I grabbed him by the neck and we both went under. He then carried me out until we struck bottom, and led me on to where the water was about knee deep.

"Now," I said, "do save the other lady."

She was almost frozen when he got her out and so was I. But I had been used to these things, living in a pioneer country.

I said to this man, "I have no money here, but if you will give me your name. I will leave it in a merchant's store in Boggy Depot." I wrote his name on a piece of paper with a piece of rotten wood. These depots, in that day and time, were just places used for rations. The conductor went to the next station to get harness. He thought that by evening the water would be down so he might get the stage out.

We stayed all day on this bleak prairie. Toward the middle of the day, I saw a wagon coming which I knew was a freight wagon. There was an old Negro driving it that I knew well. He belonged to the Indians. I called to him to know if he could make us a fire. He got some wood and built us one, then took

his ax and cut some poles, went to his wagon and took out some blankets and stretched them around to protect us from the wind. The conductor got back late in the evening ,and pulled the stage out. Everything was wet. The old Negro had some coffee and eggs. He made us coffee in an old black kettle, and had an old cup to drink from. He boiled the eggs in the coffee. I was glad to get something hot. But Miss Clark refused to drink the coffee because she thought it wasn't clean.

Then we had about eleven miles to drive to the next station. I knew the lady who kept the stage stand. She had just moved there. Her son had a small store. The conductor told her she would have to provide dry clothes for us; then he went to the store and got a bottle of liniment, brought it to her and told her to rub us with that. He also brought two glasses of stuff called pain killer, and told her to have us drink that so we would not get sick. We drank it, but I thought it would burn me up.

By this time, I began to get pretty well acquainted with Miss Clark, and found I had a heart for her. She told me she was from Vermont, having been educated at Port Edwards. There they educated poor girls, found positions for them, and sent them wherever they could find a place for them. Then the girls were to send back one half their monthly wages until their education was paid for.

Well, I was in need of a governess, at that time, and in talking to her, I saw she was the teacher I wanted, so begged her to go home with me. She was on her way to Bonham, Texas, to teach in an academy. I told her what I would give her, which was fifteen dollars more than she was to get at this academy. But she said she had a written contract, and could not think of going back on it. She asked me why I could not send my children to Bonham. I told her I would write my husband. I jokingly said: "You know we have been baptised—all our sins are washed away."

She said: "I know I love you now where I hated you before." I said: "Ditto, Sister." That was the thirtieth day of January, my birthday.

I wrote to my husband about my great adventure and asked him what he thought about sending my little daughter and his little daughter to Bonham. He told me to do as I pleased. My third stepdaughter was still in Fort Smith. She came home; so I made arrangements to take them all to Bonham to school that fall.

The Civil War Years

Meantime, other experiences came to me. Just before the

War I was in the store one day when a band of Comanche Indians galloped up to the door and dismounted.

I will say right here, they do not mount a horse on the side a white man does. They mount from the opposite side. They rushed into the store, which frightened me very much, but my husband told me there was no danger. He had once been connected with a trading company by the name of Caldwell and Coffey.

He was one of the men to go with this company on what was called Cross Timbers, among those wild Indians, to trade for buffalo and pelts of all kinds; and while with them, he learned to talk some words, but mostly signs.

He soon found out that they wanted to find what was known as the McCullough camps on Blue Creek.[14] While talking, an old gray Indian eyed my husband very closely; finally, he threw his arms about him, talking and making signs that he recognized him as one of the Caldwell and Coffey Company. I was very much frightened at his grabbing my husband, but my husband said: "Be not afraid, they won't hurt me."

They talked quite a little while, then took out their pipe of peace, filled it, and the chief—I suppose he was—took the first draw of smoke, passing it around to all his companions. They then returned it to the chief, and he handed it to my husband. He drew three long puffs of smoke. They laughed and patted him, saying, "Good warrior." My husband being a very large man, they made signs that he could do so much. Pretty soon he said to me, "I have got to go with those people to McCullough's camps on Blue. Don't be afraid, nothing bad will happen to me."

He soon had his horse saddled and off they went; it was about thirty miles and they reached there that night. These Indians were not as ignorant as people thought they were. They wanted to join the Southern army, saying, "We keep pale face from coming into the Indian country on our side."

Jeff Davis, being President, the head man of the band named

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[14] The name of "McCullough's camp on Blue" comes from that of Fort McCulloch located near Nail's Crossing on Blue River, a Confederate military post established in the spring of 1862, by Gen. Albert Pike. This name McCulloch (variously spelled McCullough, McCullock) was well known in the region for many years after the Civil War, referring to an old camp ground on the Texas Road at Nail's crossing, used by travelers to and from Texas many years before the War. It has been said that emissaries from the South camped here the spring of 1861. on a mission to the Indian Territory to sound out sentiment in favor of the Confederate States among the Indians, which would account for Mrs. Harlan's statement.

himself Jeff Davis. They came back to Tishomingo and gave what is called the war dance. Everybody from the surrounding country came to see the war dance. The people of Tishomingo gave them their beeves. They soon butchered them . . . . .

Soon after this Texas raised great armies for the Southern cause. They rushed to the Indian Territory to capture the forts which belonged to the United States, or, as you might say, where they were built for the protection of the Five Civilized Tribes.

The Federals were making preparations to abandon the forts. There was an officer by the name of Sturgis at our house when the courier brought the word that the Texans were marching on Fort Washita.[15] This was about eleven o'clock at night. My husband was contractor for those forts, for beef, corn, and hay, and hastened to Fort Washita in order to get all of his papers duly signed in regard to those contracts. . . . .

The next day the road was lined with Federal soldiers going to Ft. Arbuckle.[16] As my husband did not come in, I felt very uneasy, and called to one of the officers to know where he was. This same drunk woman, did not give the officer time to answer, but called out to me saying, "They are cutting him up and loading the cannons with him."

I made no reply, but a sergeant said, "He is all right."

You may know she was not a good woman, following the soldiers around.

My husband got in that evening. He was out a great many thousands of dollars at Fort Washita, Ft. Arbuckle and Ft. Cobb on these contracts. He went at once to Fort Arbuckle to get things straightened up, that he might get his money. While there, they got word that the Texas soldiers were marching on Fort Arbuckle. The sutlers' store at Fort Washita was run by a man by the name of Vance. A. A. Meyer ran the sutlers' store at Fort Arbuckle, and my husband was a contractor to the forts for beef, corn, and hay.

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[15] Mrs. Harlan's account of incidents experienced during the period of the Civil War was made from memory in 1913. Official Records of the War were not generally known then in the field of historical research. The "officer by the name of Sturgis" mentioned was Capt. S. D. Sturgis, First U.S. Cavalry, who had evacuated his troops at Fort Smith on April 23, 1861, and arrived in the vicinity of Fort Washita on April 30 (Report of Capt. S. D. Sturgis, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Ser. I, Vol. I, pp. 650-651.)

[16] The U.S. troops out of Fort Washita were marching along the Fort Arbuckle road, a few miles from Tishomingo on May 1, 1861, under the command of Col. Wm. H. Emory. They had been joined by the troops from Fort Smith, under Capt. S. D. Sturgis, the day before — *Ibid.*, p. 4.

The Government officers called them together, to make a contract with Vance, Meyer, and Harlan, to move the soldiers' wives and children to Fort Scott, Kansas. This was a pretty risky business, but the government owed these three men so much money that they had to risk it. The contract was that they move all the women and children and all their apparel, but not even a shirt or anything pertaining to soldiers' apparel. The officers and soldiers retreated, by double quick time, to Fort Scott.[17]

My husband and the other men had quite a time with the women, as the men had just been issued uniforms and canteens, but they did not allow them put in. They knew that the Southern soldiers would attack them and search so everything was left there.

My husband sent me a message that he, Meyer and Vance were going to move the soldiers' wives and children to Fort Scott. Well, I did not think of his going so far, but determined I would see him again. I knew the road they would travel. So, I got a gentleman friend of mine by the name of Priedy to go with me. The route I would take was through the mountains, and through little trails. We started one morning, bright and early, with about forty miles to ride. When we came to a road that was fit to travel, we would ride very fast, and made the trip by dark.[18]

We went to a place called Cochran's station.[19] There we remained three days before they came. They had only forty

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17 The U.S. forces out of the Indian Territory withdrew to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, instead of Fort Scott *(Ibid.,* p. 14). Mrs. Harlan's story here is verified by the report of Sgt. Charles A. Campbell, Co. E., First Infantry, dated May 5, 1861, to Col. Wm. H. Emory, commanding troops in the field on the way to Kansas. Campbell reported by special messenger that a large force of Texas troops had taken possession of Fort Arbuckle that morning (May 5), and demanded all U.S. property be turned over to them in "the name of the Southern Confederacy." When the post had been evacuated by the U.S. troops on May 4, Campbell and his men were left as a disarmed force to guard all U.S. property, and it was only through the interference of "Mr. Myers," the contractor, that they had not been taken as prisoners of war by the Texans. Sgt. Campbell sought an order from Col. Emory to have Mr. Myers convey the guard and their families to Fort Leavenworth "as soon as he could get his train together, and also furnish them with rations when the quantity that they had on hand gave out."—*Ibid.,* p. 652.

18 They were traveling north on the road from Tishomingo and Fort Washita, known as the Dragoon Trail toward the mouth of Little River on the Canadian River. After the Civil War, this old road was also called the Texas Cattle Trail.

19 Cochran's Station (or Store) was on the Trail southwest of present Frisco (Pontotoc County) on the south side of Clear Boggy Creek. This portion of the Dragoon Trail was that followed to Fort Arbuckle before the War.

forty miles to travel; but, as they said, they would drive a few miles, and then the Confederates would unload and burst open all the boxes, searching for weapons and ammunition. My husband, Meyer and Vance would always state to the Confederates why they were moving—that the government owed them so much, and that was their only resort to get their money. So, they would load up and start on.

The third day they drove, they had two or three broken wagons, and had to remain at Cochran's station to get the wagons fixed.

I foolishly wanted to go with them. Mr. Vance said, "Yes, you can have my buggy."

My husband, being a man of good judgment, and having a good deal of foresight said, "No, that won't do. You must go back home and take care of the children and run the business." He knew that I took great interest in seeing that there was good profit made on everything.

Well, they started north, and I started back to Tishomingo. We made the trip in a day going back, but did not get home until in the night. This was in May. I did not see my husband again until the first of September, and rarely got any word from him.

When they got to Fort Scott, [Fort Leavenworth], the government could not settle with them. From there they went on to St. Louis, and failed to get a settlement there. The three men were very much disappointed, and had to go on to Washington City. There they remained trying to get their money. My husband found, after being there several months, that they would have to pay a little bribe money to get the papers signed. No sooner did they find that out than they paid a bribe of fifteen hundred dollars; the papers were signed, and they were ready to start for home . . . . .

Then was a trying time for them, to know how to get back. They found a young man by the name of Burdette, who was a Southern man, and wanted to get back, but was in debt one thousand dollars to the government. If he could get that settled up, he would be in a position to go back, and would be quite a protection to them, as he was a lieutenant in the United States Army and wore a uniform.[20]

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[20] The young lieutenant spoken of here as "Burdette," by Mrs. Harlan, was William E. Burnet of the First Infantry Regiment, U.S.A., who enlisted in the Confederate Army in 1861, and served until his death in the Battle of Mobile, 1865. Lieut. Burnet describes his journey from St. Louis with Harlan, Meyer and Vance through Indian Territory to Fort Smith, in a letter dated from here on August 27, 1861,

So, the three men paid the thousand dollars. He was to come with them to Fort Smith as a protection. He was a good deal of assistance to them, because of his uniform. They came to St. Louis, there bought hacks and teams, and came through Kansas.

When they got into the Creek Nation, to a place called Eufaula,[21] the would-be officer of the Creeks arrested them. There their lives were at stake. But a genuine southern Creek, by the name of McIntosh, took them in charge, quieted his men down, and told my husband and his companions he would have to send an escort with them to Fort Smith, as they would meet many bands of southern scouts.

They got within about one day's drive of Fort Smith, when they told the guards to go back, they could fire sixty times without reloading. They had smuggled these fire arms from St. Louis.

They got to Fort Smith about midnight. There were guards out, who hailed them. My husband recognized one voice, that of a Mr. Nichols, asking him who he was.

"Don't you know my voice?" he answered.

Then Mr. Nichols recognized him; so they crossed over in a boat.

Now comes my experience. I had got word, or rather Mrs. Meyer had, that our husbands were prisoners in Pennsylvania. I sent her word that I was going to Fort Smith to see what we could do. She notified me to wait until she came from Fort Arbuckle. We were great friends, and our husbands were like brothers. I waited for her, thinking two heads were better than one, but she did not know how to plan, nor what to do. I told her we would go to the headquarters of the Southern army, and see what they could do for us. We went, but she was sick on

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to his father, the Hon. David G. Burnet, who had served as the first President of the Republic of Texas in 1836. Young Burnet's account with that of Mrs. Harlan (written at the age of 84 in 1913) forms one of the most complete and interesting stories at the outbreak of the Civil War in the Indian Territory. Lieut. Burnet's letters (1858-61) written while serving with the U.S. troops in the Indian Territory, with an introduction and annotations by Dr. Raymond Estep, were published as a series on "The Removal of the Texas Indians and the Founding of Fort Cobb," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 and Vol. XXXIX Nos. 1 and 2. The series of the Burnet letters, under the same title, are available in a reprint published by the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1961.

21 This place was North Fork Town, Creek Nation, on the Texas Road, the site of which is about 1½ miles east of present Eufaula, Oklahoma, the latter established as a town on the M.K.& T. Railway constructed in this country 1870 to 1872.

this trip, all the way. We should have made the trip in three days, by driving hard but, taking care of her, it consumed six days, and the great suspense almost made me lose what little sense I had. She would be delirious at night. There were no doctors on the road to call on, so I had to give the little things I had, to try to help her. You may believe I was glad when we reached Fort Smith where I could turn her over to friends, and she could get medical aid.

Then I set about to see what I could do. I went back into the Indian Territory about thirty miles, to where the Indian regiments were camped, commanded by General Cooper, who was our old Indian agent.[22] He told me I could get a pass through the Federal lines, but he would rather I would wait until the first of September—this was August—saying that he would be down to Fort Smith by that time, and fix up papers so that we could pass through the Southern army, to the Northern army, and could proceed north.

I had all preparations made to start. Such a wild goose chase as it was, with only my fifteen year old stepson to go with me, by private conveyance! About three o'clock in the morning, the morning we were to start, I was aroused by my brother-in-law, Mr. Coleman, who brought word that Mr. Harlan was up at his house. I was staying with my brother, George Moncrief. My brother-in-law and brother lived only three quarters of a mile apart.

The children and I hurried to Mr. Coleman's to see Mr. Harlan. I could hardly believe he was there. To my great joy he was. Well, we did not make preparations to go home for several weeks.

During that time, my husband wanted me to make a fine Confederate flag, which was known as stars and bars. I had quite a time finding material at Fort Smith and Van Buren to make this flag. It was made of silk handkerchiefs, and cost $50.00. But I succeeded, and a Mrs. Slaughson of Fort Smith helped me make it, I paying her for her assistance.

We made preparations then to start back to our home. My sister, Mrs. McCarty, her husband and family, went with us as far as Buck Creek, where the Confederate soldiers were camped, who were Choctaw Indians. I gave this flag to them. We stayed there a few days, then proceeded on our way to Tishomingo.

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22 Gen. Cooper's camp was on Buck Creek, the site of which is in the vicinity of the community of Woodson, about 3 miles west of Panama, LeFlore County. This location was on the old Butterfield Overland Mail Route (Fort Smith-Boggy Depot Road) between 25 and 30 miles west of Fort Smith.

When we arrived at home, we found everything all right with the business. We always left our Negroes to look after everything, never locking anything from them. They always took as good care of things as I would myself.

In the fall of this year (1861) I took the children to Bonham to school. There had been three boys and three girls. But a short time before I took them to Bonham, my own little boy fell from a horse, the injuries from which proved fatal. He lived only a week. It was very hard when the time came to take them all away.

I started them in the first of September and told them I would come and see them Christmas. My oldest stepdaughter was at home with me. We made presents before Christmas and cooked a lot of good things for them to eat, as I knew children always liked to have something to eat from home. On our way, we overtook a man in a carriage. He tried to keep ahead of us. I told my driver to get ahead of him as we were in a hurry. The man would not let us pass. I again told my driver to get ahead of him, which he did. The man said: "Well, I'll give it up, you can beat me."

We got into Bonham and went to the house where my children were boarding with a Mrs. Sims. But alas! I found one son sick with boils. The room was very dirty . . . . .

I went to the principal of the school, Mr. Cyrus, and said, "I think I will have to take my children home. I am not satisfied with the way they are situated here." I told him how they were being treated. He was very sorry, and said he wished he could take them to his home.

One night about one o'clock I heard a rap at my door. I asked who was there. Some one said, "Mrs. Harlan, open the door and let us in. We have very important business with you." I let them in, lighted a lamp and built a fire. It was Miss Wilson and Miss Clark. They said they had good news for me, that Mr. Cyrus had informed them that he would have to cut down expenses in the school, and would have to let one of them go. After talking the matter over between themselves, it was decided that if I wanted to take my children home, and still wanted Miss Clark as governess, she would go with me. After discussing the matter of salary I finally offered her seventy-five dollars per month, one half in gold, the other in Confederate money. She agreed to this, and went away saying that she would stay as long as I wanted her. We decided we had better have a contract. I wrote it out. It was a funny little contract. My husband laughed at me when he read it.

I told Mrs. Simms of my arrangements, and that I had

hired a conveyance to take my children home. It took us two days to get home. We stayed all night at a stage stand on the stage line. The Negroes saw us coming down a long slope in sight of home and said, "Marse, Mist'ess is coming home and has got all the children with her, and Miss Clark is with them."

We had a joyous time when we got home. Miss Clark stayed with us three years . . . . .

My oldest stepson wanted to go into the army. We did not want him to go, but the Negroes told me I had better let him go, as he was planning to run away. So we let him go. The war was progressing rapidly, and I wanted to get away from Tishomingo . . . . .

We sold out . . . . and moved to Paris, Texas, to send the children to school. The War was by this time getting pretty well advanced. We stayed one year in Paris, then I found a governess that would suit me. I did not know what to do. I was in Paris, and all my Negroes and property were in the Choctaw Nation, the Negroes begging me to come back.

I told my husband my health was very poor, and that the Negroes would prepare the buildings for us if we should return, which they did. I had a little cabin prepared for a schoolhouse, employing Miss Alice Hunt as governess. So we went back to the Choctaw Nation on Red River. My husband was employed in the army as assistant forage master, and would only be at home on furloughs for a few days. With the assistance of one old intelligent Negro and his wife, with whom I could counsel, we made good crops. And having a great deal of stock, we were well provided with everything, as we thought. But finally, the time came when such things as coffee, starch, bluing and soda began to give out. As to sugar, we had a great abundance of that in hogsheads. So I took some teams and went over into Texas, visiting the towns of Sherman, Kentuckytown, Farmington and McKinney, buying what I could find in the way of clothes.

I bought goods, from one yard to hundreds of yards, and everything except coffee. That I could not find. A friend of mine, whom I knew I could trust, was going to Eagle Pass, Texas, and I knew that coffee down there was selling at one dollar per pound. Nevertheless, I gave him one hundred dollars in gold to bring me one hundred pounds of coffee, which he did. This was in the second year of the war. I said it must stretch through the war, which it did; but part of the time, I had parched ochra and parched sweet potatoes, only taking coffee once a day.

While at McKinney after buying everything I could find

and after having about cleaned up the town, I was arrested by the provost marshal. I felt a little tender footed on this proposition, but a lawyer by the name of Eastess came to my rescue. I tried to be very brave and while this provost marshal was taking down my name, age and weight, and where I lived, I laughed and told him to take it down accurately so my husband could find me when the War closed. Mr. Eastess investigated these papers, stating who I was, etc., and wrote me a note telling me the next morning to just go down to the public square, order my teams and drive out and say nothing to the provost marshal, saying, "If they stop you the second time I'll be at your service."

I slept very soundly that night, and paid up my bill the next morning with the hotel man, saying I was going to leave town. He said: "Aren't you a prisoner?" I said: "Maybe you think so, but I don't." But I was very careful not to give Mr. Eastess away. As I drove out, such shouting I never heard for a poor Indian. Every man was shouting, and one man was pounding on a barrel shouting: "Hurrah! for the Choctaw Nation." I kept my handkerchief waving at them. I inquired through a friend of Mr. Eastess how much he charged for his advice and, to my surprise, he said he charged nothing. I felt pretty good when I got out of there, but still felt a little ticklish for fear I might be arrested again.

The next trip I made over in Texas to buy goods, I could not find any soda, bluing or starch. We could substitute flour for starch, but did not know what to do about the other things. A druggist in Bonham gave me some indigo seed. I knew that was what bluing was made of, but did not know the process. Nevertheless, I planted the seed. When it was just blooming, the old Negro man with whom I always counseled, cut it down, put it in barrels and pounded it like making kraut, then he said let it rot, so we did, and I tell you it beat any jockey club smell I ever smelled. Then he put it under a press and pressed the juice out, strained it, put it in a boiler and boiled it for two days, from ten gallons down to one, until it was thick like syrup, then put it in dishes and set it in the sun to dry. It evaporated and became hard. We tried it in water, and to our great joy found it just what we wanted. But it took work. We had enough of it to do us through the War, every once in awhile giving somebody a teaspoon full of it. A piece as big as a pea was sufficient for a big washing.

After doing without soda for so long, and having white light bread and beaten biscuit, I became pretty tired of it and wanted soda biscuit. So, I had the Negroes cut down some hickory wood, burn the ashes and make a strong lye, which we boiled, and boiled, and boiled. Finally, it thickened. Then we poured it in

dishes, and kept it in the sun until it became very hard. So we had these two artcles to do us through the War.

My husband and stepson, who were in the War, would come home once in a while on a furlough. I would never know when they were coming only by the loud call of my stepson, yelling: "How's Ishki? (which means "my mother) I want lots to eat, lots of good nipi." (meat) We were always rejoiced to see him coming,—always came with "Cooper's brand" on the horse's back,[23] and what they called "campers' itch." I was always prepared with an ointment of calomel and lard, which was a certain cure with two applications. When he would start home the boys would say: "You are going to the hospital." I always kept everything necessary for any little disease of army life. He always brought home a horse to be doctored.

Beginning Again After the War

Well, finally, the cruel, cruel War closed. You may call it a Civil War but I fail to see anything akin to civility. One evening about dark I heard the well known voice of my son. He was in rags and only a piece of a cap, but just as happy as though he were dressed in broadcloth, saying: "I have gone through three years of it and not a scratch have I." He had joined the army the last part of the first year.

In a few days, the government notified us that our Negroes were free. We did not know they were free until a Government courier brought us word after the war was over. My husband called the Negroes around him and told them they were free,—that they were no more his. The Negroes were surprised, said nothing but stood and looked at him in awe. At last, the old Negro Soloman said: "Marster, what must we do?" My husband said: "You have got to think and do for yourselves now." Poor darkeys, they knew not what to do. He told them to go back to their cabins and counsel with one another and decide what they would do, saying: "I will make you a proposition right now, but you go and study the matter over and weigh it well." He offered them half the crop for another year and furnish everything. In a few days, they made their appearance at the porch and said they would stay. He told them he would leave his nephew there to boss them. But they said: "No marster, he don't know how to boss. If Mist'es will stay with us we will

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[23] He was in General Cooper's command, and the "brand" was a big sore on the horse's back caused by hard riding. General Cooper fought in the Mexican War. He had been Indian Agent many years for the Choctaws and Chickasaws when the Civil war started. He was adopted into the Chickasaws, but did not live to register. He and Mr. Harlan were great friends, and there was always a room in our house called General Cooper's room. He died at Fort Washita.—S. A. Harlan.

stay." I had been separated so much from my husband that I was not willing and rebelled against it. One old Negro came to me and sat on the steps at my feet and said: "You know that young man don't know nothing. You stay with us." Then he bowed his head and wept. I said: "Well, let me study about it awhile." I studied the matter over for a couple of days, when my husband said we must get matters straightened out, that he must get into business again. I eventually consented to remain on the farm with the Negroes until they could raise and harvest their crop.

The Federals had possession of Ft. Smith and were sending out runners through the country making the Negroes believe that everything was paved with gold. So, a lot of young Negroes in our neighborhood banded together, anxious to get among the people that had freed them, thinking that they would have nothing to do but dress in fine linens and bask in glory. Two of my flock made the break. They took two of the best horses and left for Fort Smith. I started to pursue them to get the horses, and could have overtaken them, but came to a friend's house and he advised me to let them go, saying: "There were other Negroes with those two and they were bad Negroes. Your own would not kill you, but *they* might." I hated to give it up, my disposition being such that when I undertook anything I wanted to carry it out, but I gave it up. I got my husband word that they were gone. He was on his way to Fort Smith when he received my message. While there, one of the Negroes, my carriage driver, came to the door of the St. Charles lobby and called out, "Marster." My husband did not know who it was but looked around and saw Andrew and called: "Hello! Andrew, what are you doing? I am astonished to see you so ragged." Andrew said: "I can't get enough work to do to pay for what I can eat." He asked my husband for a dime to buy something to eat. My husband turned to the landlord of the hotel and said: "Give this colored gentleman all he can eat and I'll pay for it." Andrew said: "Marster, I want to tell you something when you are by yourself." My husband told him to eat a hearty supper then they would talk. After supper, Andrew said: "I got your hoss here but I have had to work so hard to get enough to pay the hoss's board that I cannot get enough to feed and clothe myself. I knew it was not my hoss and tried to get it back to you but could not. Bill sold the other, but I know where it is and can help you get him." He delivered the horse into my husband's hands before a Federal officer saying: "This here hoss was not mine. I only took it to ride here because I thought you white folks would give me a big job. I don't steal, I was raised better than that. I never had to steal, I always had plenty." This was a great assistance to my husband in getting the other horse.

These were horses that went through the army. He sold one of them, but the other belonged to my son. So he sent him home. The year I spent with the Negroes on the farm seemed like three years. I had been away from home so long. At the end of the year, the younger Negroes did not want any stock nor produce, only wanted money, so, I bought all their produce and nearly all the stock. Two old Negroes, knowing they had to leave that home and hunt one somewhere else, took a pair of mules and a wagon and other things they needed for farming, and moved about one hundred miles away. I left them on the place, and when I left them, we had a big, big cry. People who never owned Negroes don't know how owners feel towards them. Especially, as good ones as I had. Well, they were scattered to the four winds. Six of the Negroes, two young women and four young men said: "You have to have Negroes to wait on you. Why not hire us?" I knew my husband could put them to good use in gathering up cattle (he had taken a contract again with the government to buy up cattle), so we took the Negroes and paid them what we would white men. They finally married and left us. . . . . It was pretty hard for me to wait on myself, but I said: "Other women can do it and I can too." Sometimes we would get out of hired help, and myself and the daughters would cook, wash and milk the cows, but we went at it with a good will, saying: "We will get used to it some day." But let me say right here, I never got used to it. I feel better today to call a Negro to wait on me.

Well, time went on, and my husband was very prosperous in business. We did not yet decide where we would make our permanent home. Business with the government was not as good now as before the war . . . . .

The treaty [of 1866] with the Choctaws allowed all our former slaves forty acres of land. Prior to this treaty intermarried whites could carry on business only by payment of a license tax. The new treaty gave my husband a better opportunity of prospering in his business. We moved to the eastern part of the Choctaw Nation, and started in business at Skullyville. While living here, my own daughter, Julia Vermelle Hawkins (Mrs. Julia V. Underwood's mother), was married to William C. Falconer of Arkansas . . . . .

A few weeks after the wedding, my daughter Lorena was born. Mr. Harlan and I had been married about thirteen years before this first baby was born. . . . . In about a year and a half, my daughter Juanita was born. These two children were idolized by my step children. I often said to them: "You never got mad with me until those children came." They always took offense if I corrected Lorena and Juanita.

About this time, the first railroad and telegraph wires were to be put through the Five Civilized nations, running north and south. The fever seized my husband to go to a trading point on this line. He was always seeking something better, and, that being the first opportunity of the kind through our country, he selected a place and started moving on through the nations with the railroad as it was constructed, using a tent store house for his business. When they got to a certain place thirty miles from the Texas line, knowing that would be the next place for business, the civil engineer told him that would be an established depot. He immediately staked out a place directed by the civil engineer and left the business in charge of Mr. Jewell, came back home and sold out and moved to this place, which he named Caddo. There we made our last home. I still [1913] have property in the town and a farm adjoining it.

My husband still had a good deal of business in connection with the Choctaw Nation and had to go to Washington very often, leaving the business in the hands of this gentleman, as he thought. I never did like the man from the first, and told my husband that man would never do, but he had so much confidence in him. When my husband was away, I saw how matters were going, and wrote him urging him to come home and attend to the business there,—that I was confident that we would go bankrupt. He finally came, but too late, we were bankrupt. He had to learn that all men are not honest and all is not gold that glitters. The man was a Jewel in name, but not in reality.

He soon saw that it was worse than when the Neroes were freed. We had capital then to go into business again, but now we had nothing, and he was too proud to ask for help. But I told him it was not as dark as he thought. There was a big business being done at that time by the railroad—(it being a carrier for all western traffic)—and it employed a good many men. They had often asked me before we were broken up to board them, the hotels were so poor, but, as I did not have to do such things at that time, I refused. After this catastrophe, I made up my mind to take them, consulting with my stepdaughters in regard to it, never my husband because I knew he would oppose it. We decided to take the railroad men to board, and I went to the depot to see the man in charge telling him he knew our situation now, and asked him if they still wanted to change boarding houses. . . . . They gladly accepted, and came, paying the same as at the hotels—five dollars a week, board only.

I felt real mean over taking the whole responsibility of providing for the family and not consulting my husband. Still, I felt I was doing right. I arranged with the stores to use a pass book so I could know at night what my expenses were

SARAH ANN HARLAN
From a photograph taken about 1880

during the day. My husband was very sore over it. I said to him: "You have had such a hurt you are hardly able to walk. What better can we do?" He was a very proud man and proud of his family. He thought it very humiliating for me to open a private boarding house. The man that took our store came to board with us too, making twenty men in all. They seemed to be losing business on account of so many trains of wagons from the west.

They wanted my husband to take charge of the business again, but he did not like the idea of working under some one else. I urged him to accept it, as he was well enough now, for a few months at least. He accepted it and was paid a good salary but being used to having the entire management of business for so long, he chafed under it. Finally he saw quite a good opening for business about eighty-five miles west of this place. I was seriously opposed to his going on account of his health, but he thought that, in a few months, he would have a business established so we could move out there. I never felt that it was the right move; and, alas! it was not.

There were no public conveyances through that country and, in a few months, a runner came for me to go to White Bead Hill as my husband was very sick.[24] When I think of it now, I think I surely had no nerves, or if I had, they were of iron. I started at night, the runner having a note to show to people on the road his mission so they would furnish us fresh horses. The runner made the trip in thirteen hours. I started at nine o'clock at night with it raining all the way; and, changing horses every ten or fifteen miles, I made it in twelve hours.

At a store called Cherokee[25] about ten miles from where my husband was, I had my driver ask some men standing on the porch how my husband was. One of them said that when he passed there he was dying. Language fails me to describe my feelings. I had my two little baby children with me, my stepdaughters wanting me to take them, saying papa would be so disappointed if I didn't. I hardly realized at this moment that I had them with me. I urged the driver to hurry. The men were

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[24] Aaron Harlan's store was about 1 mile north of present White Bead, in Garvin County. "This store was owned by a man by the name of Rocks, son-in-law of Major Aaron Harlan. This store was moved to the present site of White Bead in about 1879. It is said that the White Bead Caddoes formerly camped around this spring. . . . ."—Album, "Some Historic Sites in Southern and Southeastern Oklahoma," by Muriel H. Wright, p. 5, (Photographs taken on field trips made during 1930), in Library of Oklahoma Historical Society.

[25] This was old Cherokee Town about 3 miles southeast of present Pauls Valley, Garvin County, on the road from Caddo to Fort Sill, Indian Territory.—*Ibid.*, p. 6.

so shocked at my distress they did not think to warn us that the bridge across Washita River was not safe. We came to it and rushed frantically across. Just as we reached the last abutment, crash it went right in the middle of the river. We had not noticed that the men from the store were following us and yelling to us not to cross. Just as it fell in, the driver halted, looked back and saw them coming. But Providence had saved us. We dashed wildly on. Within a mile of the place we came into open prairie and down grade . . . . .

My husband had died perfectly conscious; said he knew I would want to take his remains back to Caddo and he did not want me opposed. He said to his son-in-law: "I am not afraid to die, I have but one thing that bothers me. That is leaving her with two little children to raise. She has raised all of mine. Will you help educate them? That is the height of her ambition. She educated the others. Then we were amply able. Now, I leave her penniless."

When I got there, the son-in-law said: "Why not bury him here?" I said: "No, I have a place for him at home. I will never consent." So, we left the next morning at four o'clock with his remains, and a long, rough road it was. I did not think much about my little children's comfort until the second day. Told them I knew they were hungry, but they said they were not. The 8th day in April, 1876, we reached home. I was met by a great crowd of friends and acquaintances. Just as the sun was setting in the West, he was lowered into his grave. It was a bitter cold day . . . . .

The Last Years in a Century of Living

Sarah Ann Harlan saw another forty years after the passing of her husband, Aaron Harlan. She spent her very last days at the age of ninety-seven among friends in the Confederate Home at Ardmore where she died December 14, 1926.

Mrs. Harlan had kept her home in Caddo for many years after her husband's death, making her way again by her "own determination," mostly through the development of her Choctaw farm land in the vicinity of Caddo. She reared and educated her two daughters, sending them to well-known boarding schools in the states as young girls; and through the years, mothered

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26 The remaining pages of the "Memoirs" are largely devoted to family history. There are accounts of visits to various parts of the country, and pages giving the names of children, grandchildren and mention of marriages, births and deaths, all making a fine record for family genealogy.

27 Portions of the Sarah Ann Harlan "Memoirs" are found in the Foreman Collection, *"Indian and Pioneers,* Vol. 28, pp. 1-98 (WPA Project materials), Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

several orphan children who knew no other home than hers until they were grown. She saw Caddo grow from two or three houses and a railroad camp on the prairie beside the M.K.&T. Railway in 1872, to a busy town of 2,500 in 1902. Always active in the affairs of the community—tending the sick, mothering orphans, feeding the hungry—, early day citizens of Caddo still remember her as a "very grand" lady who made a fine appearance. In the vestibule of the Methodist Church is a large picture of Sarah Ann Harlan at the age of eighty-two, her name with that of Mrs. Susan Burks appearing in a note within the frame: "The Founders of the First Methodist Episcopal Church South at Caddo, Ind. Ter. Blue Co. in 1873."[28]

The page devoted to "Women's Interests" in *The Muskogee Times Democrat* for October, 1921, carried a banner line clear across the top: "NO 'HOME' TODAY — WE LIVE FOR THRILLS, SAYS GRANDMOTHER HARLAN, 92." The feature story in six short columns across the page beneath this line gives some of Sarah Ann Harlan's reveries of the past and observations made with intense interest on current questions of the day, particularly on the recent Presidential campaign when she had cast her first vote and Alice Robertson of Muskogee had been elected Oklahoma's first congresswoman:

"There is no 'home' today; the present generation of young men and women live for one thing alone—thrills! Is the modern rate of speed which young people travel, responsible for the great evil—divorce?

". . . We traveled slower in those days; a stage coach, boat or horseback was the popular mode of travel compared with the automobile, the airplane and locomotive of today. Yes, we traveled slower, took life more easy, and I never heard of a divorce until long after I was married . . . . .

"I have seen Indian villages grow into modern cities, and have seen some early day settlers come into national prominence, Miss Alice Robertson and Robert L. Owen. . . . . I have lived to see nation-wide woman suffrage, and for all these things and more, I am glad that I have had the privilege of living these ninety-two years . . . . .

"I myself am a strong suffragette; am a Democrat, and voted in the last presidential election. I think Wilson is one of the best presidents we ever had, and like Thomas Jefferson and others, his greatness will be realized by the people in long years after when his name is history . . . . ."

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[28] Caddo was in Blue County, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, in 1876.

At the center of the same page on "Women's Interests," the newspaper carried a short column headed: "Woman has no Political Call—Senator Owen's Mother-in-law says They should only help men." Beside this column and beneath another line,—"Says Miss Alice is in the wrong place"—is a picture of a beautiful woman wearing a widow's hat and veil, with the caption: "Mrs. G. B. Hester: At the age of 83 she is unusually active. She says women are not expected to be political leaders and have no legitimate right to seek such achievements."

In a never-to-be-forgotten interview at Caddo with a good woman, Sarah Ann Harlan, age ninety-four, this editor remembers her stories of incidents and little rivalries of the days at old Tishomingo, Boggy Depot and Caddo. Yes, Miss Elizabeth Fulton, who married George B. Hester, had taught the Harlan children in their home before the War, but she did not seem to want to mention that any more, much to Mrs. Harlan's dismay. There was a flash of humor in her eyes but she grew solemn when she added, "I don't see why Lizzie Hester wants to act that way!"

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Cumulative Index
Completed for *The Chronicles Of Oklahoma*

The year 1961 is marked in the history of the Oklahoma Historical Society by the publications of the *Cumulative Index* for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* covering Volumes I to XXXVII (1921-1959). This book is an outstanding contribution to research in Oklahoma history, well bound in hard backs, and excellently printed in good sized, readable type, covering 569 pages with approximately 125,000 references set in two columns to the page.

Publication of the *Cumulative Index* has been accomplished through the work of Mrs. Rella Watts Looney. Mrs. Looney had spent five years in cataloguing the original records of the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Agency at Muskogee when the records were brought over to the Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City, and she was placed in charge of the Indian Archives Department in 1934. In addition to cataloguing and filing these records in the Archives, which now has 3,500,000 manuscript items and 5,000 volumes of original materials on Indian and pioneer history, Mrs. Looney was assigned the compiling and typing of the annual Index for *The Chronicles,* which she has continued, with the exception of about two years, since 1934.

As the years passed, *The Chronicles* were used more and more by researchers as a primary source for Oklahoma State and Indian data along with study of the original records in the Archives. Prompted by this demand and to give service to those who came for research in her Department, Mrs. Looney started keeping cards in 1945, listing subjects found in the magazine not generally in the annual index. It was through her own efforts and interest aside from her regular work that the cards increased during the years, and were in demand for reference by everyone who visited the Historical Society. In 1949, a special file case was purchased for these index cards in the Archives Department.

Within another five years, requests from outside libraries and research centers were increasing for a cumulative index to *The Chronicles.* The Editorial Department began plans for publishing such a volume in 1956, and two years later, the matter was approved by the Board. Mrs. Looney then started compilation of the manuscript based on the thousands of cards that she had made and kept, this manuscript a demanding task,—still extra-curricular from the regular duties of her department, which included cataloguing and filing new collections received in the Archives as well as answering letters of request for data, and giving her time and thought to assisting the many researchers

who daily visited the Indian Archives. She completed the final manuscript of 1,600 typed pages early in 1961, and it was sent to the Allied Printers, Publishers, Lithographers of Tulsa that had been awarded the contract through the State Board of Affairs, in behalf of the Society's Publication Committee. The completed volume came off the Press the last week in October.

The Publication Committee and Board of Directors of the Historical Society take great pride in presenting this fine volume, and have expressed deep appreciation for Mrs. Looney's contribution to the study of Oklahoma history, having honored her with the presentation of a special "Commendation Award" in the October (1961) meeting of the Board of Directors.

The *Cumulative Index* is monumental in the growing list of the Historical Society's publications which now includes thirty-eight volumes of *The Chronicles* (four numbers for each bound annually), and special reports on Oklahoma history as well as reprints of special articles from the magazine. A limited number of copies of the *Cumulative Index* are now on hand, subject to order at $15.00 each. Orders should be addressed: The Index Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

—The Editor

The Naming of Oklahoma

The name "Oklahoma" was provided in the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty of 1866, for a territorial government to be organized and to include all the Indian nations and tribes living within the limits of the so-called Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma. Three other treaties with the Seminole, the Creek and the Cherokee, signed separately by the respective delegations at Washington in 1866, sanctioned the proposed territory by including a short article for the creation of a "general council" or legislative body. However, it was Article 8 with its thirteen sections in the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty that gave the name and the details for the organization of the new territorial government.

One day during the treaty making period in Washington after the Civil War, government officers and the delegations from the five tribes had met and were discussing the general plans for the territorial organization, when one of the government commissioners inquired, "What would you call the territory?" A member of the Choctaw delegation, Allen Wright, immediately said, "Oklahoma." It happened that he was working on the draft of the Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty, at the moment under consideration when he made his quick reply. There was no objection to the name so it was written in the treaty and

was generally accepted in the meeting as appropriate for the proposed Indian territory. *Oklahoma* means "red people" in the Choctaw language, from the word *okla* meaning "people," and *homma* (or *humma)* meaning "red."

The proposed territorial organization in the treaties of 1866 never went into effect yet the name "Oklahoma" became popularly and widely known in the persistent efforts for the development of the Indian Territory, by the interests in favor of the railroads and the opening of this country to homestead settlement. Mr. Sidney Clarke, who served several terms in Congress from Kansas, was always active politically for the cause as well as Elias C. Boudinot, the noted Cherokee attorney recently alligned with the Confederate States, who was the leader in his nation after the war for the industrial development of this country.

Several bills introduced in Congress soon after the Civil War for a territorial organization suggested the name "Territory of Lincoln." In 1870, U.S. Senator Benjamin F. Rice of Arkansas introduced a bill for the territory to be called "Oklahoma." The most controversial of the Oklahoma bills before Congress was the so-called Weaver Bill (H.R. 4842) introduced by Congressman J. B. Weaver of Iowa in 1886, and bitterly opposed by delegations of the Five Civilized Tribes because it threatened the Indian land titles in the country. The bill failed to pass but Sydney Clarke succeeded in getting the unoccupied Indian lands opened to white settlement in 1889, and the western part of the Indian Territory was organized as the "Territory of Oklahoma" a year later. The name was perpetuated as that of the State of Oklahoma admitted as the 46th State in 1907.

During the years, beginning with the early 1880's, the meaning of the name "Oklahoma" was a matter of much interest, the meanings offered by different persons including "home of the red man," red earth," and "beautiful Indian Territory." Early in the 1890's, the Reverend J. S. Murrow, the well known Baptist missionary and Masonic leader who lived at Atoka among the Choctaws, told how Allen Wright had named the proposed "Territory of Oklahoma" in 1866, and that the name was from the Choctaw meaning "red people." Dr. Murrow had served as a missionary in the Indian Territory since before the Civil War, and had been personally well acquainted and associated with Reverend Allen Wright before the latter's death at Boggy Depot in 1885.

The territorial newspapers took up the story after the organization of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Among these, the *Daily Oklahoman* for December 27, 1897, published Dr. Murrow's account about the naming of Oklahoma by Allen

Wright and gave the meaning of the name "red people." The *Cleveland County Leader* and the *Blackwell Times Record* for December 6, 1900, published the story in their editorial columns. The *Kingfisher Free Press* for December 13, 1900, said that Governor Cassius W. Barnes of Oklahoma Territory gave the meaning of "Oklahoma" as "red earth," and that Allen Wright had suggested the name in 1866.

One day after the time that the Historical Society's *Report* of 1905 was published, Joseph B. Thoburn, a member of the Society's Board of Directors, was told by Mr. Sydney Clarke in an interview in Oklahoma City, that in drafting one of the Oklahoma bills, probably the "Weaver Bill," Elias C. Boudinot had advised the use of the name "Oklahoma" for the proposed territory since the name had been given in the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty of 1866 and was popularly known.

The story of the naming of Oklahoma in 1866 had come down as a tradition first told by Allen Wright to Dr. Murrow and friends when *Oklahoma Lodge* was founded by the Masons at Boggy Depot, the first Masonic lodge organized in the Indian Territory after the Civil War. Mr. Wright always told the story with much amusement of how the older Indian members of other tribal delegations had looked as if he had spoken out of turn with his quick response suggesting the name "Oklahoma" during the treaty making at Washington. Little did "Governor" Allen Wright (elected Chief of the Choctaws, 1866) realize in his lifetime the importance of offering the name *Oklahoma* as that of a future great state.

(M.H.W.)

BOOK REVIEWS

South Pass 1868. James Chisholm's Journal of the Wyoming Gold Rush, Edited by Lola M. Homsher. (The University of Nebraska Press, 1960. pp. 244. Maps and Illustrations. $4.50.)

The book first gives a run-down on James Chisholm who had been something of a reporter about town with the ladies in the cultural circles. One would infer him too "sissy" even to make the trip west in the days of 1868 but he did remarkably well. As he describes the fearless people of this area, it is a wonder his feet were not "put to the fire" but frankly, these roughs must have thought he might "write them up" if they helped him about. They even made sure that he did not lose his notes.

In long paragraphs, Chisholm gives intimate details of bachelor living in the wilds. He denotes the aspirations of such men, he reveals characters. He describes quests for food, shelter, and enough gold to buy grub and whiskey in order to keep going. His words frame realistic pictures as good as Stewart Edward White. He even gives statistics on gold production and values. His drawings are about the caliber of a third-grader but they help carry the idea. His "Miner's Cabin" is fair to good. He lets the reader "see" much better through his words.

The author, Lola M. Homsher, is careful in presenting her subject. She and the Nebraska Press have made a text-book out of *South Pass 1868.* If one's grandfather lived between 1803 and 1869, he might have gone through here. This third book of the Nebraska Press in its "Pioneer Heritage" series calls for us to buy the other two volumes. They, no doubt, are reference books as well as Western Americana for education and entertainment.

This reviewer predicts TV will use portions of this book. If so, we hope the editor and publishers make them stick to the scene exactly as James Chisholm described it.

—Joe W. McBride

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Southwest: Old and New. By W. Eugene Hollon. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1961. Pp. xvii, 487. Maps. Illustrations. Index. $7.50.)

The author, a professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, gives us a much-needed up-to-date general historical survey of the Southwest. Attempts at a historical study approach-

ing the comprehensive reach of this volume have been less satisfactory treatments, maximizing interpretation and minimizing history.

Few, attempting to define the political boundaries of the Southwest, agree on the states to include—or exclude. Fortunately, this author has limited the region to Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas, thus permitting, within space restrictions, a wholly satisfactory survey of the social, political, and cultural picture. The author skillfully handles the task of confining himself to four states, and even the role of the Southwest in the history of the nation is judiciously treated and placed in proper perspective. The coverage remains wide-ranging, and is concerned with the development of the area from prehistoric man to the present. Organization of the book is chronological, and within this framework the topical approach is used to good advantage. While reader comparison of developments and situations in the region will be inevitable, they are not comparatively treated by the author, for the material itself tells a vivid story of contrasts.

The writing is relaxed, clear, and descriptive. Sometimes the author uses the first person in relating observations and experiences which are the result of his travels. Frequent editorializing is tempered, thoughtful, and always in good taste. Southwest legislators will not be offended when they read of their do-nothing attitude on the water problems and reapportionment; perhaps Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona and the Board of Regents of the University of Texas will rejoice that they have not been more roughly handled. The readers will also enjoy the author's subtle wit and humor, and will probably be motivated to use the informative bibliographical notes.

Physically the book is handsome. The type is clear, the margins wide. Footnotes give information rather than documentation. The paper is of excellent quality, and the binding is attractive.

Professor Hollon's book should circulate widely throughout the Southwest, and also have considerable nation-wide appeal. Oklahomans will see their state in focus, and be better prepared to judge its successes and shortcomings. However, like all historical writing concerned with the present, revision in the near future will be necessary to keep this volume current and meaningful. Unlike much writing on recent history, this book will be well worth revising.

—LeRoy H. Fischer

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JULY 27, 1961

Members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the Board of Directors Room at 10:30 a.m. on Thursday, July 27, 1961, with President George H. Shirk presiding.

The following Board Members answered roll call: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Judge Orel Busby, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips and Miss Genevieve Seger. Members absent and requesting that they be excused were: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Korn and Dr. James D. Morrison. Motion was made by Mr. Phillips that members who so requested be excused. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and adopted.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the minutes of the previous meeting not be read. Mr. Bass seconded the motion which was adopted.

The Administrative Secretary presented the list of gifts which had been given to the Society during the past quarter and also list of applicants for annual and life membership. Miss Seger moved that those nominated for membership be elected. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, and the motion was adopted.

Mrs. Bowman gave the Treasurer's Report which showed total cash receipts for the quarter of $3,137.11, total disbursements for the quarter of $3,800.26, with total cash on hand as of June 30, 1961, of $4,871.78. The Membership Endowment Fund cash balance in the City National Bank and Trust Company is $144.15, and with the deposit being made on July 27, 1961, will be $489.89. The Life Membership Endowment Fund in the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association is $1,400.00, and with the deposit being made on July 27, 1961, will be $1,800.00; and with Government bonds of a face value of $17,500.00 at the First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City. Mrs. Bowman also said she wished to give a short summary of the Oklahoma Historical Society 1961 Tour finances. She said the cost of meals had been $1,126.39; cost of buses $1,477.98; and other costs in preparation for the trip $346.35. These expenses, plus the $35.50 of tour money left on deposit at the bank for the purpose of keeping the tour account open, left a deficit of $370.22, which was paid from Society funds.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the Treasurer's report be accepted. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was adopted. Mr. Phillips added that the report reflects that the Society spent $11,000 and took in $10,000. He asked if it kept in mind that this reflected the deficit from the tour and the transfers to the Endowment Fund.

President Shirk called for the report of the Microfilm Committee. Mr. Phillips stated that he had no special report at this time; and that the Committee is waiting on the new fiscal year appropriation to start a new program.

President Shirk announced that there would be no report from the Historic Sites Committee. He also announced that Dr. Morrison had asked to be relieved of the responsibility of the Chairmanship of that

Committee. Mr. Shirk said that it was his recommendation that Dr. Morrison's resignation be accepted. Judge Clift so moved; Mr. Curtis seconded the motion; and the motion was adopted.

At the call of the President for the Publications Committee Report, Mr. McBride reported that the Publications Committee had met June 20th with himself, Dr. Dale and Mr. Fraker present as members of the committee. Also present had been Miss Wright, editor of *The Chronicles*. He said that the matter of accepting advertising in *The Chronicles* had been discussed and that the Publications Committee had agreed that *The Chronicles* should be opened to advertising. Such advertising would be confined to the back pages of the magazine, excluding the inside front and back covers, and be limited to those sources advertising materials suitable to be listed in *The Chronicles*.

Mr. McBride said that it had been the decision of the committee to invite bids for printing *The Chronicles* by the offset method. The bid was let for such a contract, to be cancelled after two issues, if the offset method proved unsatisfactory. He added that the low bidder had been Semco Color Press with a bid of $2,897.40 each for the four issues of *The Chronicles*. The bid was made on 112-page base, with additional charge for each 10-page increase above that. Mr. McBride moved that his report be accepted. Motion was seconded by Mrs. Bowman and the motion carried.

Chairman Henry B. Bass gave the report of the Civil War Centennial Commission. He said he thought the most pressing problem of the Commission was how to carry on a Centennial for four years without wearing everybody out. He noted that President Shirk had undertaken to write an article every day for four years "which is quite a chore." At the latest check, 91 papers are regularly publishing this day-by-day Oklahoma item. Mr. Bass said he would like to have a plan to promote competition among school children in preparation of a scrapbook of these clippings. He said he would take about $350.00. Mr. Shirk asked if Mr. Bass would put this in the form of a motion, and Mr. Bass asked that it be so considered. Speaking to the motion, Dr. Dale asked that it be extended to college students, not as a collection scrapbook, but as a serious term paper. Mr. Shirk said he thought the amount of money might be divided among different school levels and asked if Dr. Dale would make this an amendment to the motion. Dr. Dale did so; the motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and was adopted.

Mr. R. G. Miller, in giving the report of the Tour Committee, gave an extended outline of a proposed tour of southeastern Oklahoma for the 1962 Tour for the dates of June 7th, 8th, and 9th. Mr. Curtis moved that the outline of the tour as given by Mr. Miller and the dates as submitted be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and carried.

President Shirk, reporting for the Stagecoach Committee said that the Society's stagecoach had been retrieved; that about 2,000 people came to see it the first day it was on display, probably due to the newspaper and television publicity. He added that Mr. and Mrs. John D. Frizzell had assisted in the re-assembly work on the stagecoach. He said that the Attorney General had been of great help in this "cloak and dagger" matter; that the Crime Bureau had actually secured the return of the coach for the Society. He added that the disagreement with the contractors is still unsettled; as they had submitted a bill for $3,500 for work which they originally agreed to do as a public service. Mr. Phillips moved that the Board reject their bill for $3,500 and

authorize a special committee to work out what is actually due them. Miss Seger seconded a motion to that effect.

Speaking to the motion, Dr. Johnson said it was not clear to him what was due for their work as artisans. He asked that such portion of the contract be read again to the Board.

As a special privilege, Judge Busby requested that this matter be put aside for handling until later inasmuch as he had to return to Ada for a scheduled 1:30 p.m. meeting. Mr. Muldrow moved that the Board leave this matter and return to it later. Mr. Jones seconded the motion which was adopted.

President Shirk said that in accordance with the policy of the Board, the President had canvassed the Board for nominations for members to fill the three vacancies on the Board, to fill the unexpired terms in accordance with Section 8 of Article IV of the Constitution. After the method and manner of election had been decided upon, President Shirk appointed a teller committee consisting of Miss Seger, Dr. Johnson, and Mr. Jones. After all names had been placed in nomination, and written ballots, it was announced by Miss Seger for the teller committee that the following had been elected: Mr. Lou Allard, for the term expiring in 1965; Mr. W. D. Finney and Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, for the other two terms expiring in 1963.

The President then returned the meeting to the matter before the Board regarding payment of the bill on the stagecoach and to give the President authority to negotiate settlement.

Mr. Miller remarked that he thought the Executive Committee, not a special committee, should be authorized to settle with the claimants for the work on the stagecoach at an amount not to exceed $1,000. Mr. Mountcastle moved, in lieu of all other motions, that the Executive Committee be authorized to do as Mr. Miller suggested. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion which was adopted by majority vote.

Dr. Johnson asked that the minutes reflect that he voted in opposition to this motion.

Mr. Joe McBride gave the report for the Special Library Committee. The President stated that the Committee had been appointed with the approval of the Executive Committee to study the entire question of "open stacks" for the library. The Committee as appointed consisted of Mr. McBride, Chairman; Dr. E. E. Dale, and Dr. L. Wayne Johnson. The President stated that Dr. Johnson declined to serve, and that Miss Genevieve Seger had been appointed to complete the membership of the Committee. Mr. McBride reported the Committee met July 11th with the Administrative Secretary, the Librarian, the Library Cataloguer, and several patrons of the Library; that it was the consensus of the Committee that for the time being and until present construction and rearrangement plans are complete there could be very little done on the open stack problem; but, when the library was capable of changing its policy because of improved facilities, finances and more personnel, then the Librarian and Administrative Secretary of the Historical Society be able to make recommendations which will fairly satisfy all concerned. Mr. McBride moved that the Board accept his report and that the Special Library Committee be discharged. Mr. Bass seconded the motion which was adopted.

Mr. Shirk made the report for the Executive Committee. He remarked that many distinguished men had held the chair of President

of the Historical Society. At his death, Mr. Charles F. Colcord lay in state in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. Recently a portrait of Mr. Colcord has become available and the President secured it for the Society. The portrait was on display at the present meeting of the Board. Judge Hefner moved that the portrait be accepted by the Socity and Dr. Harbour seconded the motion, which carried.

The President called attention to and commended an article by Arthur W. Baum about Oklahoma which had appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*. He then mentioned the work of Mr. Leslie Butts in preparing monthly calendars with pictures of historic sites. He recommended that commendation be made to Mr. Butts for photographing these historic sites. Judge Johnson requested a commendation for Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith who has worked for many years on the matter of improvement of the health and health conditions of the Indian tribes. Mr. Jones moved that these three commendations be approved. Motion was seconded by Mrs. Bowman and was adopted.

Reporting for the Legislative Committee, Mr. Phillips stated that the group did a fine job of making the presentation to the Legislature, but because of a lack of general tax increase, it had been understood from the beginning that the Society would not secure an increased appropriation; and, in fact, might have to take a cut. The Society's budget was cut once, but was brought back to the original amount. Mr. Phillips said the Society received exactly what was appropriated at the last biennium in every department. The personal services, however, which is the fund appropriated for salaries and wages, has been set up in a lump sum. Designations of title and pay will now be the responsibility of the Society.

Mr. Phillips further said that the Board has a further problem in that Senate Bill No. 65 heavily restricts the authority of agencies and institutions to transfer funds within their own departments once the budget is set.

Mr. Shirk then said that for the first time the Society had not been given by the Legislature a line item list of jobs and the pay of each. Instead, the appropriation is simply $48,000 for personal services for the fiscal year, starting July 1st, to use in any way determined. By reason of Senate Bill 65, the Society can pay the current month without any problems. After that, if the present payroll, present staff, present salaries are continued for another month, then it will have to continue the same for the remaining months of the fiscal year. The bill reads that the schedule shall be determined by the Administrative Secretary. According to the Society's Constitution, the Administrative Secretary is in turn responsible to the Board.

Judge Johnson said he presumed that the procedure would be for the Administrative Secretary to study this problem and present to the Executive Committee his recommendations which the committee would study and accept or reject.

The motion of Judge Clift, seconded by Mr. Jones, that the Board authorize the Executive Committee to act on the recommendations of the Administrative Secretary as to salaries and other budget items was put and carried.

Mr. Shirk suggested that Mr. Jones submit an outline of what he had in mind to the Publications Committee regarding the booklet giving a brief history of Oklahoma. Dr. Johnson mentioned that some other states had carried out a similar idea by using one or more issues of their journals and ordering additional copies for individual sales.

Mr. Fraker said that because of the reorganization going on in the museum the matter was now dormant, but that he had been given permission by the Board to print some literature for the museum. He said that all material available now would quickly become obsolete as the work progressed in the museum.

The Administrative Secretary brought up the matter of the Boggy Depot Cemetery. Some people have requested that the southeastern corner of the plot belonging to the Society be turned back and opened for public burials. It would be his recommendation, Mr. Fraker said, as a matter of good public relations, to let this be done unless the area has burials of historic significance.

Mr. Shirk displayed a map of the area under discussion and reiterated that it was the southeastern corner in which there is an interest to have restored for public burials. He said that Miss Wright has recommended that this should not be returned for public burials; that the area in question was deeded to the Society by Wilson Grove Cemetery Association; would be conveyed back to them if returned; and the Society would need a release from the Planning and Resources Board who has a lease from the Society for maintenance. Dr. Johnson moved that this request be referred to the Historic Sites Committee for report to and final action by the Executive Committee. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was adopted.

Mr. Shirk announced that he was appointing a special committee of Mr. Miller, Miss Seger and Mr. McBride to represent the Historical Society at the dedicatory services to be held at Pecan Point by the Methodist Church.

Judge Johnson stated that a statue of Pontiac would be unveiled at Anadarko on August 13th. He also announced that the Cherokee Nation had presented a plaque to the commander of the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Yorktown at Long Beach, California. This presentation was in honor of Captain Joseph James Clark (U.S.N. Retired who was the commander of the ship during World War II.

Mrs. Bowman announced that the marker had been ordered for marking the birthplace of the Historical Society in Kingfisher. She added that the marker price was now $145.00. Dedication services will be in the fall, probably in early October.

It being determined that there was no further business to come before the Board, meeting was adjourned at 12:28 p.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, President

ELMER L. FRAKER, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED:

LIBRARY:

Marking the Line of 1889 and 1893—Compiled by Berlin B. Chapman

Dedication of Monument on Site of First Battle of the Civil War in Present Oklahoma, April 15, 1956

Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman on behalf of the Payne County Historical Society, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Oklahoma Chattel Mortgage Law Simplified—H. L. Melton

World Metric Standardization—Aubrey Drury

Donor: Harry C. Stallings, Oklahoma City

10 Facsimile letters and micro-master films of Reverend William F. Vaill of Union Mission. Copied from originals owned by Lynde Selden,

New York City. List of works printed at Union Mission 1835-1836.
Donor: Mrs. Hope Holway, Tulsa.
4 copies of *Wide World Magazine*
Donor: Mrs. Zoe Tilghman, Oklahoma City
Oklahoma Brand Book, 1960
Donor: Brand Division, State Board of Agriculture, Oklahoma City
Barking Water The Story of Wewoka
Donor: Wewoka Branch American Association of University Women
"Historical Album of Kansas"
Donor: Agricultural Hall of Fame, Kansas City, Mo.
"Oklahoma Poetry" May, 1961
Donor: Leslie A. McRill, Oklahoma City
Transcript of Proceedings of the Senate of the 12th Legislature, State of Oklahoma, 2 volumes.
Donor: Ted B. Halter, Oklahoma City
Tobacco and Americans—Robert K. Heimann
Donor: Robert K. Heimann, New York City
4 copies of House Resolution No. 518 "Designating the Lynn Riggs Players of Oklahoma Incorporated, as The Official Theater of the State of Oklahoma"
Donor: Representative Lou S. Allard, Drumright
3 World War I photographs of Tom Mix
Donor: Mrs. Roy A. Wykoff, Jr., Mutual News-Pix Features, Davenport, Iowa
Oklahoma Silver Jubilee Anthology—Poetry Society of Oklahoma
Threads of Flame—Julius Lester Medlock
Stray Hearts—Julius Lester Medlock
Donor: Julius Lester Medlock, Pauls Valley
Recollections, Bathurst Browne Bagby
Donor: Lee A. McKinney, Choctaw
"Aviation in the United States Navy"
Donor: Director of Naval History, Washington, D. C.
50 State Flags
Donor: Texaco Oil Company, Oklahoma City
Biographical sketch and photograph of Secretary of State William N. Christian
Donor: William N. Christian, Oklahoma City
81 copies of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*
Donor: Oklahoma City Library, Oklahoma City
Potawatomi Indians of the West: Origins of the Citizen Band—Joseph Francis Murphy
Donor: Reverend Joseph Francis Murphy, St. Gregory's College, Shawnee
"Early Day Missionary Teacher to the Choctaw Indians, Harriet Newell Mitchell Wright 1834-1894"—James Brookes Wright
"Allen Wright"—James Brookes Wright
Donor: Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma Historical Society
Scrap Book presented to Miss Edith Johnson
Donor: Estate of Edith Johnson
The Language of Flowers and Alphabet of Floral Emblems
Kitty Brown
Soldier Rhymes—Josh Lee
Barnes National Reader, Number 5
McGuffey's Eclectic Fifth Reader
Elementary History of Oklahoma—Hatcher and Montgomery
The Red Cross—Clara Barton
Donor: Mrs. Marie Basore, Oklahoma City

Microfilm: 1880 Census of Indiana, White-Whitely Counties
Donor: Mrs. Milo Meredith, Cushing

3 copies of *Hensley's Magazine:* September, October, 1903 and February, 1904
Donor: Claude L. Hensley, Oklahoma City

4 Rolls Microfilm: Princess Anne County, Virginia Will Books 1793-1871 (2)
Norfolk County, Virginia Will Books 1818-1868
Norfolk County, Virginia Deeds 1838-1839
Donor: Mrs. L. F. Dulaney, Kingfisher, Oklahoma

Y. W. C. A. Central State College—Starr Otto Doyel
Donor: Mrs. W. T. Doyel, Edmond

2 copies "Information Contained in American Census Records"
Donor: Mrs. Harry C. Stallings, Oklahoma City

Oklahoma City Directory, 1912
"Startling Detective" January, 1934
"A Brief Pictorial History of Oklahoma"
"A Tribute to Charles N. Haskell"
A History of the Men's Dinner Club—Angelo Scott
Men's Dinner Club Yearbook, 1912-1913, 1913-1914
"Men's Dinner Club Program, October, 1950"
"Proceeding on Occasion of the Presentation of Oil Portrait of Dr. A. C. Scott to Oklahoma Historical Society, October 7, 1947"
The Student Annual, June, 1903
The Black Jack—Student Annual, 1907
"Oklahoma's Representatives in Washington, D. C."
1 copy of law proceedings concerning the ownership of Oklahoma's "Pioneer Woman" statue, May 2, 1933
"Address of Hon. Patrick J. Hurley on Occasion of the Unveiling of the Monument to the Pioneer Woman, April 22, 1930"
"Guide to Tennessee Historical Markers"
"Phases of Southwest Territory History"—Samuel C. Williams
Proceedings of the Senate Sitting as a Court of Impeachment May 8, 1929
Acceptance of the Statue of Will Rogers
Letter to Judge Vaught and W. R. Ledbetter to proceed with building of the State Capitol Building, March 20, 1913
1 Photograph: "Ground Breaking Exercises for State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City, July 20, 1914
Donor: Family of Judge Edgar S. Vaught
Map of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian Lands, 1910
Map of "Big Pasture," 1906
"Proclamation and Regulation of Sale of Indian Lands," 1906
"Statutes and Regulations . . . under Desert-Land Laws," 1906
Second Homestead Entries—Instruction, 1908
Directory, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 1902
Constitution, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 1892
Rock Island System, Weekly Comparison Card, June 30, 1904
Enginemen's Time Report, October 6, 1904 through Nov. 18, 1904
Rock Island Caretakers Transportation, February 3, 1912
Rock Island Lines Circular Letter, February 9, 1912
Office form and instructions, February 1912
El Reno Mill & Elevator Company receipt, November 12, 1913
Report of accident in Rock Island Yards, December 13, 1913
4 Meal Tickets dated 1899 and 1900
Rock Island Lines clearance card, December 2, 1915
Farm Labor Restriction forms, 1918
Union Pacific Type locomotive circular

38 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Timetables, 1901-1919
Donor: Rena Kegelman Smith daughter of C. C. Kegelman, Oklahoma City
Collected and arranged by Leon Townsend, Oklahoma City

MUSEUM:

Pictures:
Crystal Cafe, Vici, Oklahoma
Donor: Oregon Historical Society
Balloon Ascension at Sulphur, I. T. (1899)
Donor: Mrs. Ford Thiel, 4001 N.W. 19th St., Oklahoma City
Ohoyahoma Club (1917)
Donor: R. L. Disney
W. W. Murrell's Store
USS Oklahoma City
State College at Alva
Donor: Copied by Society
Picture album and pictures of 101 Ranch
Picture album and pictures
Donor: J. G. Puterbaugh, McAlester, Okla.
Jack Hayes
Heck Thomas
Frank Canton
Wm. R. Taylor
Donor: Copied by Society
Oldsmobile (1912)
Indian Dancers
Parade at Anadarko
Indians at Anadarko
Indian Dancers
Home of H. A. Bump
Lewis A. Turley, M. D.
Mary Thoburn
Roosevelt graduates 1937
Roosevelt school 1937
Chicken Ranch, Oklahoma City (4)
First Mobile Trailer to take X-Rays in Oklahoma County
Variety Health Center (2)
Boy Scout Camp near Clinton
Mess Hall at Boy Scout Camp
E. W. Basore and others
E. W. Basore
Variety Club Health Center
Washington School 3rd grade 1903
McKinley School 7th grade 1907
Bump's Jewelry Store
Donor: Mrs. Marie Bump Basore, Oklahoma City
Oklahoma City Civic Center
Map of Oklahoma on the ground
Crowd at Oklahoma County Court House
Oklahoma City
Crowd at the Oklahoma County Assessor's Office
Showing cattle at Fair Ground
First National Bank, interior
Indians, tepees and oil wells
Auction at Oklahoma City Police Station
Oklahoma City Scout Car
City Police at target practice
Oklahoma City

Premere "Black Gold"
Motor Cycle Police, Oklahoma City
Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City
Ohoyohoma Club (1961)
Donor: Ohoyohoma Club
Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce Officers 1913
Donor: Judge Edgar S. Vaught
Beaver County Sod House
Donor: M. P. Lehman, Lawton, Oklahoma
Mt. Radziminski
Plum Thicket where graves were found
Donor: Hobart Democrat Chief
H. C. Hitch, Sr., H. C. Hitch, Jr., H. C. Hitch III
Donor: R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City
John Alexander Logan
Donor: B. B. Chapman
Judge Baxter Taylor
Donor: Mrs. Baxter Taylor
Carnegie Library, Oklahoma City
Cotton Field
Broadway, Oklahoma City
Donor: Ivy L. Chamness, Bloomington, Indiana
Irving High School
Donor: Judge Edgar S. Vaught
Oil Portrait of Charles F. Colcord
Donor:
Western Hills Lodge
Donor: Oklahoma Planning Board
Cheyenne Peace Pipe
Donor: Paul Lefebvre
Gen. Claire Chennault and Others
Roy A. Wykoff, Jr.
Floyd Gibbens and Roy A. Wykoff, Jr.
Group World War I
Tom Mix
Alexander Graham Bell's School for the Deaf (1871)
Roy A. Wykoff and Frank Case
Will Rogers and Others (1900)
Donor: Roy A. Wykoff, Jr., Davenport, Iowa
Exhibits:
Homestead Certificate
Five certificates, stock in Weatherford State Bank
Certificate, stock in Weatherford-Colony Telephone Co.
Certificate, capital stock in Farmers Mutual Telephone Exchange
Donor: Gordon Wilkes, Oklahoma City
Tokens—.05, .10, .50 cent pieces
Donor: Clifford Godfrey, Waynoka, Okla.
Cartridge and cartridge box
Donor: Harold L. Rogers, Oklahoma City
Jacket-Union Artillery (Union Room)
Donor: Norman N. Peters, Oklahoma City
Purse, carried by Confederate Soldier
Donor: Adelia Clifton, Oklahoma City
Car Tag—Oklahoma 105-218 (1923)
Donor: H. A. Schuermann, Pond Creek, Okla.
Cane—owned by Peter Maytubby
Dog Tags—worn by Lee A. McKinney in World War I
Donor: Lee A. McKinney, Choctaw, Okla.
Flag—46 stars

Donor: Mrs. Paul Williams, San Francisco, Calif.
Scrap Book—Pictures of Will Rogers and Wiley Post
Donor: Col. LaVon P. Linn, Pentagon Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Watch—old fashion dollar watch from Bump's Jewelry Store
Scrap Book, pictures of Bump's Jewelry Store
Donor: Marie Bump Basore, Oklahoma City
Petticoat (1910)
Wedding Dress, white (1910)
Blouse (1910)
Donor: Mrs. Jack B. Wilcox, Mercer Island, Washington
Dress: Black brocade
Donor: Mrs. R. C. Baker
Seal of Oklahoma—hand painted on leather
Shield design of Oklahoma Flag, painted on leather
Donor: Gordon Durant, Oklahoma City
Christening dress of Edith Johnson
Donor: Johnson Estate by Mr. Ledbetter

NEW MEMBERS QUARTER

APRIL 8, 1961 TO JULY 28, 1961

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

John B. Blakeney	Enid, Oklahoma
Donis B. Lovell	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
M. G. McCool	" " "
Ruth R. Ray	Mojave, California
J. D. Cone, M. D.	Odessa, Texas

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Russell D. Bessire	Alva, Oklahoma
Joy McBride Morris	Alva, Oklahoma
Mrs. O. H. Richards	Arnett, Oklahoma
J. B. Hill	Checotah, Oklahoma
Sterling N. Grubbs	Cushing, Oklahoma
Mrs. R. E. Moss	Duncan, Oklahoma
Barbara Wolfe	Duncan, Oklahoma
Miss Kathrine Odom	Eldorado, Oklahoma
Mrs. H. E. Doudna	Edmond, Oklahoma
Francis Richard Gilmore	Enid, Oklahoma
Madalene Slaten	Gould, Oklahoma
Mrs. Charley Harris	Haworth, Oklahoma
Isabel Elliston	Holdenville, Oklahoma
Mrs. Ethel H. Reed	Holdenville, Oklahoma
Mrs. Arthur O. Holliday	Lawton, Oklahoma
Mrs. Laveta Nance Yarmuk	Lawton, Oklahoma
Mrs. J. D. Edmonson	Medford, Oklahoma
Mrs. Gladys Gill	Midwest City Oklahoma
Ruth E. Quinn	Midwest City Oklahoma
R. R. Boone, Jr., M. D.	Mooreland, Oklahoma
Henry C. Dennis	Norman, Oklahoma
Judge Tom P. Pace	Norman, Oklahoma
Mrs. J. C. Davis	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Lydia Eckhardt	" " "
Oscar F. Ellis	" " "
Mrs. Frank Grass	" " "
Beula C. Griggs	" " "
Gloria Jacqueline Hardy	" " "
Mrs. M. H. Higgins	" " "

Susan Jennings	" " "
Irene Nye	" " "
Gordon J. Quilter	" " "
Mrs. Dayton Royse	" " "
Beth West	" " "
Myrtle Burnett	Seminole, Oklahoma
Mauttie Hofmeister	" "
Louise Welsh	" "
Mrs. Leo Selby	Skiatook, Oklahoma
Mrs. B. B. Chapman	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Mrs. R. A. Peery	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Pete W. Cass	Sulphur, Oklahoma
Mrs. Roy L. Ginter	Tahlequah, Oklahoma
Betty Barclay	Tonkawa, Oklahoma
Mary McKinlay	Tonkawa, Oklahoma
John R. Sewell	Tonkawa, Oklahoma
Paul Groves	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Lew Wentz Cass	" "
Eleanor W. Jaeger	" "
Fred W. Kohler	" "
Alan Livingston	" "
Sequoyah A. Perry	" "
Clark E. Ramey	" "
William Alfred Totten	" "
Lillian Slemmer	Watonga, Oklahoma
Dixie Hammock	Weatherford, Oklahoma
Harry J. Lemley	Hope, Arkansas
Edward Trout	Los Angeles 65, Calif.
Alwin E. Bulau	Damariscotta, Maine
Robert K. Heimann	New York, N.Y.
George E. Broom	Amarillo, Texas
Claud McDaniel	" "
O. E. Avery	Dallas, Texas
Virgil Olen Martin	Tyler, Texas

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Winter, 1961-1962

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Cover: The front cover print is a reproduction of the Opothleyahola portrait from the famous M'Kenney & Hall Portfolio (Philadelphia, 1836-44). This shows the noted Creek leader in his tribal regalia when he was about twenty-eight years of age (1826-27).

COLONEL COOPER'S CIVIL WAR REPORT ON THE BATTLE OF ROUND MOUNTAIN

By Muriel H. Wright

Introduction

Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, in command of the Indian Department of the Confederate Army, reported the military expedition, in which the "Engagement at Round Mountain" is listed as the first of three battles against Opothleyahola, the noted Creek leader who headed the Union forces in the Indian Territory one hundred years ago. Writers on the Civil War have usually given little attention to this first engagement, stressing instead the outcome of the third fight—Battle of Chustenahlah —when the Union Creeks were finally defeated by Confederate troops, and driven north with their families through winter cold and snow as miserable refugees to Kansas. Yet the Battle of Round Mountain began the bloodshed that led to this tragedy for the Union Creeks and their allies, and started the bitter division among the people of other tribes in the Indian Territory, during the Civil War.

Colonel Cooper states that toward evening on November 19, 1861, after crossing to the north side of the Red Fork, now Cimarron River, a detachment of Texas Cavalry under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Quayle, was forced to retreat by a superior force of the enemy in a skirmish that ended in a "short but sharp conflict" after dark. Cooper gives no clue to the exact site of the battle nor does his description suggest the name "Round Mountain." The records prepared by others than Cooper and the officers of his command, during and immediately after the Civil War, refer to the engagement on November 19 as the Battle of Red Fork. The *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* first published the name of the engagement as "Round Mountain."

Colonel Cooper wrote the report at Fort Gibson on January 20, 1862, addressing it to the Confederate Secretary of War, J. P. Benjamin at Richmond, Virginia. He closed with an apology to the Secretary for the sending the report, two months after the first engagement against the Union Creeks, in November. Cooper with the officers of his command and the poorly clad, practically untrained troops had experienced all the rigors of a war in itself during these two months. The expedition had set out to force Opothleyahola's recognition of the recent Confederate Creek treaty, and to stop him and his followers—more than 3,500 men, women and children—on their march north from

PRICE
MCCULLOCH
CAMP MCCULLOCH
FT. GIBSON
ARKANSAS RIVER
BUCK CREEK CAMP
CAMP PIKE
FISHER'S
OPOTHLEYAHOLA'S HOME
COUNCIL HILL
CREEK
CHOSKA
COWETA
TULSEY
TALLAHASSEE
VERDIGRIS
GOOSEY'S BLUFF
GRAND R.
NEOSHO
CANEY
BIRD CREEK
BATTLE DEC. 26
TRAIL
GREAT BEND
SNOW GRANDMINE CREEK
SKIATOOK
BATTLE MAY 18
MOUNTAIN
ROUND
SCULL'S STORE
LITTLE DEEP FORK
BIG POND
ARBEKA
NORTH FORK
DEEP FORK
OF CANADIAN
NORTH FORK TOWN
OLD CHIEF HOLMES
THLOPTHLOCO
GREENLEAF'S STORE
LITTLE RIVER
CANADIAN
CHICKAHOMINY
SEMINOLE AGENCY
COUNCIL HOUSE
FT. WASHITA
FT. ARBUCKLE 1857
OLD CAMP ARBUCKLE 1851
WHITE WATER CREEK
ARKANSAS RIVER
BLACK BEAR CREEK
TRAIL
DELAWARE SHAWNEE
DEEP FORK
RED FORK OF CIMARRON RIVER
COUNCIL GROVE
OF CANADIAN
NORTH FORK
CREEK NATION
SEMINOLE NATION
MAY, 1861
EMORY'S TRAIL
SALT FORK OF THE ARKANSAS
SALT PLAINS
NORTH BOUNDARY
SOUTH BOUNDARY
SALT PLAINS
CREEK NATION
SOUTH BOUNDARY
WASHITA RIVER
FT. COBB
WICHITA AGENCY
CANADIAN RIVER
SEMINOLE NATION
NORTH BOUNDARY
SALT PLAINS
RED RIVER
LEGEND
ROUTES - 1861
▲ UNION CREEKS
---CONFEDERATE TROOPS
X--BATTLES

their home settlements in the Creek Nation toward the mouth of the Red Fork River, on the Arkansas. Cooper briefs the operation of his troops in the field, giving very little about what happened on the day of November 19. Where and at what time in the day did the Confederate command overtake the followers of Opothleyahola on the march? Where was the appointed rendezvous for Opothleyhola's armed warriors? Where was Opothleyahola's encampment just before the battle north of the Cimarron? These are important points in making any logical conclusion on the Creek leaders' movements and plans in his opposition to an alliance with the Southern Confederacy. A close study of Colonel Cooper's report with those of his officers and other documents reveal the Battle of Round Mountain more than just one "short but sharp conflict" in a brief period of rifle fire between the Confederate troops and Opothleyahola's forces, at some point in the hills north of the Cimarron River.

Most historians interested in this subject besides searchers and writers on local history have maintained that the Battle of Round Mountain took place north of the river, near one of the many hills some miles northwest of present Keystone, a small town that centers the region around the mouth of the Cimarron. Yet none of these northwestern hills is known as "Round Mountain." Old time Indians living in this vicinity since before the Civil War, some of whom were participants, or were closely associated with participants, in the fighting have held that the battle between the Union Creeks and the Confederates on November 19, the first year of the War took place *south* of the Cimarron. South of the river six miles, almost due south of Keystone, is a high hill called Round Mountain in the extreme southwestern corner of Tulsa County, about twenty miles southwest of the City of Tulsa.

And now, another view has been developed in recent years, on this Civil War battle. The Payne County Historical Society has promoted the theory since 1949, that the first battle between Cooper's Confederate forces and the Union Creeks in 1861 took place near the Twin Mounds in present Payne County. This theory discards a well known historical map and records, besides Civil War tradition in the region at the mouth of the Red Fork, in the effort to prove the Twin Mounds as the site of the first battle against the Union Creeks.[1] This site is about eight miles *north* of the Cimarron and more than forty miles west of Keystone by any trail in 1861.

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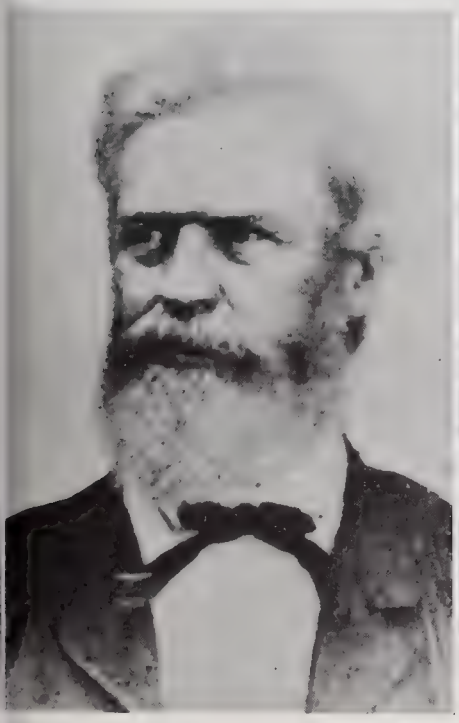
[1] Angie Debo, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain, 1861," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1949), pp. 187-206. The battle site promoted in Payne County is in Sec. 6, T. 19 N., R.5 E., about eight miles north of the Cimarron River.

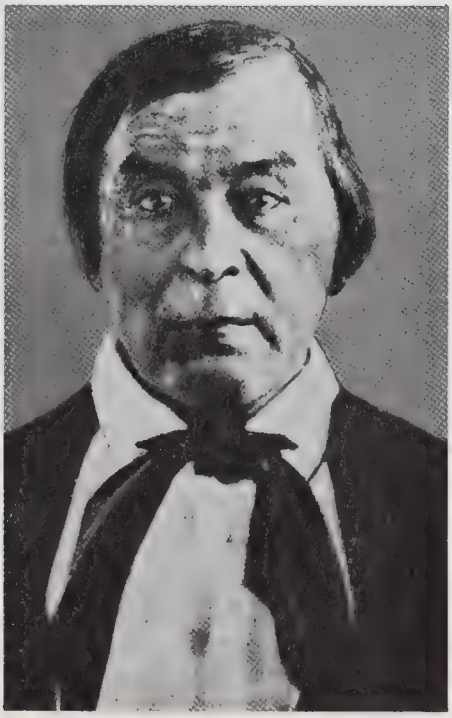
COL. D. N. McINTOSH

GENERAL ALBERT PIKE

COL. DOUGLAS H. COOPER



COL. JOHN DREW



A handsome stone monument was erected a few years ago by the Payne County Society, about three miles northwest of the town of Yale to commemorate the Twin Mounds location as the site of the first Civil War battle against Opothleyahola.[2] This site for the Battle of Round Mountain has never been accepted by the Oklahoma Historical Society in its statewide program of marking historic sites carried on since 1949. Nor has the Twin Mounds' site been proven correct to the satisfaction of Oklahoma historians and others interested in the history of the Civil War in the Indian Territory.

The emphasis now given events of the Civil War in the Indian Territory in the statewide program carried on by the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission calls for a review of Cooper's report at this time. The Civil War Commission is producing an Oklahoma pictorial map through the work of the Oklahoma Historical Society's Committee on Historic Sites, giving the locations of battles and other sites of the Civil War period in this region. The Commission also is forwarding plans to erect markers and monuments at some of these sites, and to conduct historical tours and programs to commemorate outstanding events of the War.

This review of Colonel Cooper's Report of 1862 is presented here in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* based upon the well known records and other historical materials that have been recently brought to light relating to the Battle of Round Mountain, in the interest of preserving the true history of the Indian Territory in the American Civil War.[3]

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[2] The historical programs promoted by the Payne County Society have been under the direction of Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Professor in the History Department of Oklahoma State University, at Stillwater. Dr. Chapman is well known for his research in Oklahoma history and for his studies in this field, published in book form and in articles that have appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* from time to time since 1933.

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[3] In this review of Colonel Cooper's Report, the writer makes grateful acknowledgement for the assistance given in the compilation: to Dr. James H. Gardner, former member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and President of the Gardner Petroleum Company in Tulsa, who is well acquainted with the Big Bend country of the Arkansas in Pawnee County, through his work in the geological field for many years; and to Mr. Jack T. Alexander, a member of an old Cherokee family, who has lived all his life in Tulsa County, and has spent much time in search and study of the hills in the vicinity of Keystone and Mannford, the old, traditional region of the Battle of Red Fork, or Round Mountain since the time of the Civil War. Further acknowledgement is due Mr. Robert H. Dott, Executive Head of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, of Tulsa; Mrs. Orpha Russell of Tulsa, whose articles relating to the Battle of Round Mountain appeared in *The Chronicles* (1951 and 1952); and Bob Foresman of

The Statement of Mr. Jack T. Alexander

The writer has kept in mind the subject of the Civil War battle site in the Keystone region, having made field trips in its vicinity and researched the records from time to time for data since 1949. About two years ago, a letter was received from Mr. Jack T. Alexander expressing his interest in proving the site of the Battle of Round Mountain near Keystone to correct the error made by the proponents of the Twin Mounds' site. His interest in this subject has been important in the writer's intensive research during the past year that has resulted in the study and review of Colonel Cooper's Report. From his research in the Keystone region and reading over the writer's work file of materials, Mr. Alexander recently sent in a statement giving his own conclusions on the site of the Battle of Round Mountain. Since his statement briefs important data[4] for the Keystone location of the battle, and summarizes the question promoted by the proponents of the Twin Mounds site, it is given here to point up the problem and historical data for readers of *The Chronicles* before beginning the writer's review of Colonel Cooper's Report:

Documentary Evidence And Conclusions On Site Of Round Mountain

The events of the hegira of Opothleyahola's forces have been generalized in several articles of fairly recent date drawn from the *Official Records,* by Wiley Britton, Abel, Debo, Russell and others and are familiar to those who have read them. There are some documents and details of events not generally known and sometimes in conflict with conclusions of writers of this century, and for this reason should be presented.

The first document, and most important, is the map drawn by John T. Cox and submitted in 1864 with his report of Yahola's movements. This cannot be ignored or taken lightly as Cox compiled this information less than three years after it happened from participants and events were fresh in their minds. Although not to scale, Cox shows "Camp Gouge" and the Battle of Red Fork very near the confluence of the Arkansas and Cimarron Rivers, where he states the enemy was repulsed. He also shows the Caving Banks and Hominy Falls sites accurately, so there

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The Tulsa Tribune, whose recent feature story appeared (November 18, 1961) in commemoration of the centennial of the Battle of Round Mountain. Mr. Art Stoneman and Charles Zickefoose, both of Keystone, whose families have lived in this country since 1893, gave information on historic sites in this region.

[4] These papers are cited as sources indicated in this review as Civil War File 1861, and are located in the Editorial Office files.

is no reason to doubt his location of the first engagement of this series.

Now, we find from a letter written by Colonel Cooper that he was in camp near Thlopthlocco Square, Creek Nation on October 29, 1861. Also that Colonel Drew was at Ft. Gibson on October 31, 1861. On November 5, 1861 Colonel Cooper ordered Colonel John Drew to march up the Neosho with the least delay to join and support Colonel Stand Watie, and from a letter by Colonel Drew we find that he did so, arriving at Camp Codey, Verdigris River on November 19, 1861, and was still there according to dispatches dated November 25 and 27. On November 27, Colonel Cooper wrote Drew, mentioned the first skirmish, and stated that he would move part of his forces to the Lochapoka Town, part to Dick Coody's, and part scout back on Deep Fork and North Fork.

On December 2, Acting Adjutant-General R. W. Lee sent a dispatch from Camp Perryman at Tulsey Town, stating that from a Cherokee prisoner he learned that Yahola's forces were camped "about six miles above the mouth of Red Fork, on this (north) side of Arkansas River and about twenty-five miles from us." This would be Walnut Creek, and the camp site was about one mile from the mouth of the Creek. On December 4 from Camp Denmark near the Kansas line, Colonel Watie inquired of Colonel Drew as to the whereabouts of the "Discontented Creeks."

We come now to the first letter of record written by other than an officer. His first name was Thornton, and signed his letter with initials TBM. He participated in the first and second battles, was in preparation for the third, and states: "The first battle we fought at *Round Mountain* about five miles North of the Red Fork of the Arkansas." This letter was written from Camp Choska on December 23, 1861.

The account of Judge James R. Gregory, Ninth Kansas Cavalry, whose home was one mile south of present Bristow during the Civil War appearing in the *Galveston News,* November 27, 1901, states:

"One body of the Union Creeks was camped on the Arkansas River near the old Skiatook place (then in the Cherokee Nation but now in the Osage Nation) and the others on the North Fork River, above mentioned. General Cooper with his forces proceeded to attack the Creek Camp on the North Fork River. The Union Creeks, under the command of Chief Opothleyahola marched in one-fourth circle around the right flank of Cooper's army to the Northeast, attempting to form a junction with the Union Creeks on the Arkansas River. Before the junction was effected General Cooper's army overtook this faction of the Union Creeks crossing the Cimarron just at dusk. A battle ensued, which was fought after darkness set in. After stopping the advance of

the Confederates, the Union Creeks proceeded on the same night to form the junction which they had in contemplation on the outset, and which they accomplished the following day. General Cooper did not follow the Union Creeks the next day, but retired toward Choska to wait reinforcements.

Copies of these documents and others of the period have been made available through the Editorial Department of the Historical Society, and in these let us first go back and establish the positions of the forces. Cooper was almost directly south of the mouth of the Red Fork River when at Thlopthlocco Town. He deployed Drew and Watie to present Coody's Bluff on the Verdigris, northeast of the Red Fork. If he was expecting Yahola to go west or to the Walnut Creek in Kansas why did he send forces so far away? From splitting his forces, according to the letter of November 27, apparently he did not know where Yahola was. Likewise, note Watie's inquiry to Colonel Drew on Yahola's locations.

Trooper "TBM" states the battle was five miles north of the Red Fork. The Payne County proponents by their own reckoning place it eight miles north of the Red Fork. Also, if Trooper TBM had seen the Payne County Twin Mounds he surely would have used the plural designation. Now comes Judge Gregory to state that the *contemplated junction was completed the next day after the battle.* Can someone explain how this large body of people could move on foot overnight the distance involved from the Twin Mounds site to the Skiatook settlement, over forty airlines miles? They could not, but they could have from the region in Pawnee County of Section 13, T. 20 N., R. 8 E. on Cowskin Creek, which is just four and one-half miles from the Red Fork River and where, in 1876, Mr. J. C. Byers found the wagon remnants and camp debris.

In addition, let us look up these camp sites of Yahola, as pointed out by a descendent of one of Yahola's followers. The *first* known is near Bristow, Section 27, T. 16 N., R. 9 E. (Rock Creek, a branch of the Little Deep Fork); the *second,* Section 13, T. 20 N., R. 8 E. (Cowskin Creek); *third,* Section 1, T. 20 N., R. 9 E. (Walnut Creek); *fourth,* Section 35, T. 21 N., R. 11 E. (Delaware Creek); and *fifth* the Section 20, T. 21 N., R. 13 E., (Bird Creek). Trace these on a quadrangle map and the route confirms the Cox map. When asked if the trail followed by Opothleyahola could have, or did go any farther west than this, the answer is "No."

There is also the evidence as related by Elizabeth Sapulpa and Willie Bruner, who were Creek Indians, and Sam Brown, Euchee Chief, as to four caves dug for protection about one-half mile north of old Fort Arbuckle which is in SW ¼ of Section 2,

T. 19 N., R. 10 E., Western Tulsa County, and about eight miles east of the Byers site. The Cox map clearly shows a division of forces by Yahola south of the Red Fork River showing that they had knowledge of pursuit. Division of forces by Indians was a common military tactic. The warriors bore to the northwest and the Byers site and the non-combatants were sent eastward to these cave sites and old Fort Arbuckle for their protection. In all our history of the American Indians can it be found where they did not have utmost concern for the safety of family, women, children and the aged? Fort Arbuckle, built in 1834, was undoubtedly known to the residents of the Creek Nation, and used as a landmark and reference point.

The lone bit of evidence that the Twin Mounds' proponents have is the wagon remnants and debris found on the Salt Creek near there. Consider this: Item in the *El Reno News* for June 25, 1897, p. 6, col. 13 states;

> *The Cushing Herald* says: The battle of Twin Mounds, Payne County, fought near the close of the war, between Texas Rangers and some northern men, when about thirty were killed and wounded, was not so much a skirmish between Unionists and Rebels as between certain Texas cattlemen who were trying to recapture their large number of steers that had been confiscated by a band from somewhere up north. The battle put a stop to occasional wholesale stealing of large herds of marketable beefs.

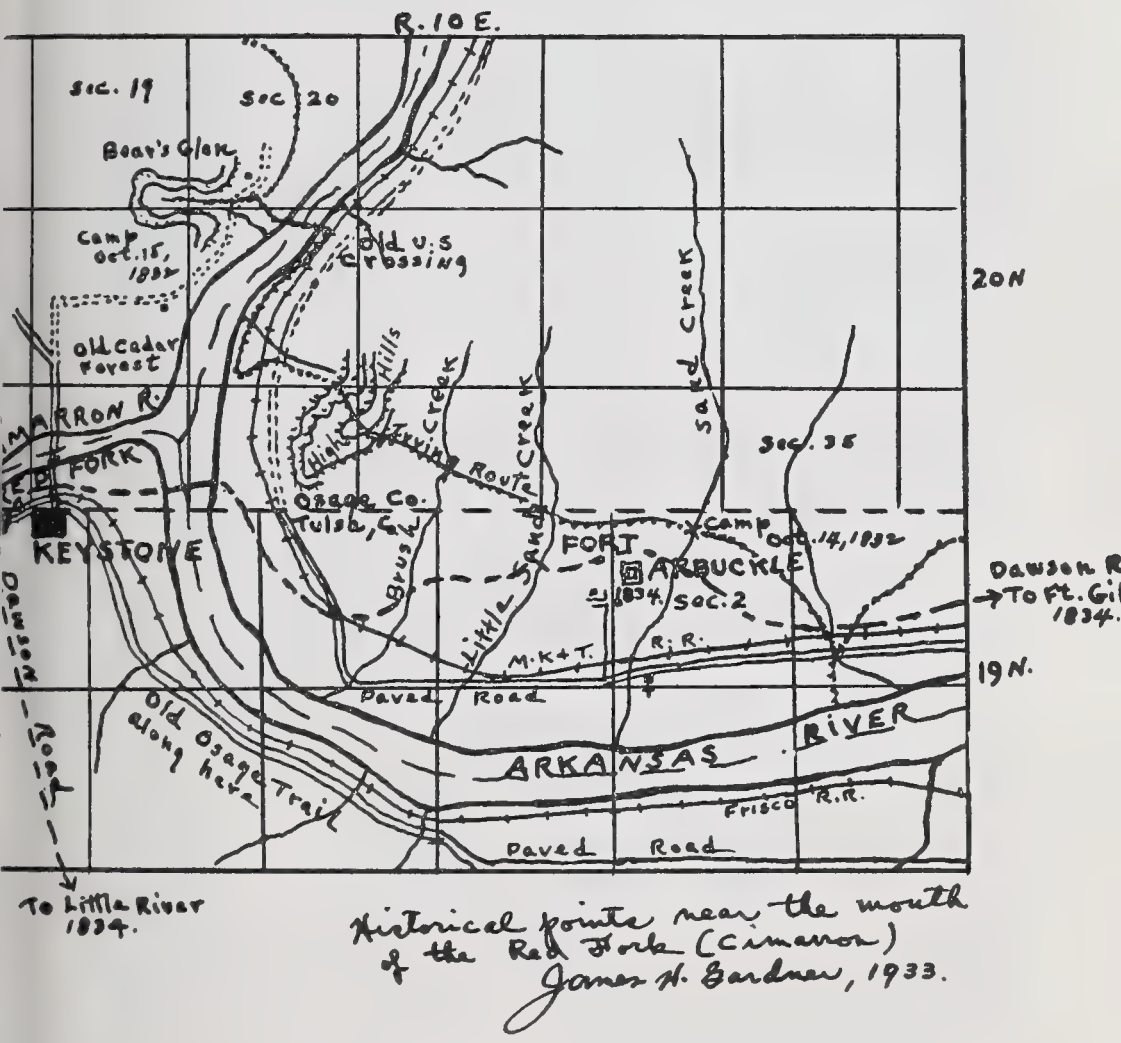
These findings are the result of much research, over two years (1959-1961), many miles traveled, many times to all these points mentioned solely in the interest of historical accuracy.

—Jack T. Alexander

Some Notes on the History and Topographical Features of the Western Creek and the Cherokee Settlements Before the Battle of Round Mountain

Notes on the history of the Tulsa region given by Dr. James H. Gardner in *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for 1933, describe topographical features and historical events that relate to the location of the Battle of Round Mountain. These notes are based on the original reports of Captain J. L. Dawson, of the Seventh Infantry, who made two expeditions from Fort Gibson to the mouth of the Red Fork, in 1831 and again in 1834.

On his second expedition, Captain Dawson reported a good location for a proposed military post on "a fine body of land, 6 miles square" on the north side of the Arkansas River just east of the mouth of the Red Fork. The post was established here by Major George Birch in the summer of 1834, buildings were erected and the new stockade fortification was named "Camp Arbuckle" ("Fort Arbuckle") for Colonel Mathew Ar-


R. 10 E.
Sec. 19
Sec. 20
Bear's Glen
Camp Oct. 15, 1832
Old U.S. Crossing
Old Cedar Forest
CIMARRON R.
RED FORK
KEYSTONE
Osage Co.
Tulsa Co.
Turkey Creek
Route
Sand Creek
Sec. 35
20N
FORT ARBUCKLE
1834
Sec. 2
Camp Oct. 14, 1832
Dawson Route
To Ft. Gibson 1834.
M.K.&T. R.R.
19N.
Paved Road
ARKANSAS RIVER
Old Osage Trail
Frisco R.R.
Paved Road
To Little River 1834.
Historical points near the mouth of the Red Fork (Cimarron)
James H. Gardner, 1933.

buckle, the Commandant at Fort Gibson. Camp Arbuckle was abandoned as a garrisoned post in the fall of 1834 but low mounds of earth and chimney stones marking the locations of the four main buildings are still seen on the site of this early day fort in Wekiwa Township, north of the Arkansas River about eight miles west of present Sand Springs. Even long after the Civil War, one of the old buildings of stone and heavy timbers was standing at the southeast corner of Camp Arbuckle. This site is a little over one-half mile south of the old north boundary of the Creek Nation. A few yards south of this boundary line and about one-fourth of a mile northwest of the old post ground is a deep, dry gulch, in the sand banks of which the Union Creeks constructed four, big dugout caves where many of the women and children were housed about the time of the Battle of Round Mountain. These people were in the van of the Opothleyahola followers—about 900, mostly women and children led by the old men—who had come up from the Canadian River region and the Deep Fork by early November, 1861. After the Battle of Round Mountain, they were joined here by their menfolk who were a part of Opothleyahola's warriors, under the command of Micco Hutka. This band of warriors is said to have remained here for a time before moving down the Arkansas and over to Shoal (or Hominy) Creek before the Battle of Chusto Talasa (Caving Banks), fought on December 9, 1861. Cooper's report indicates that the remains of the fortification at Camp Arbuckle were undergoing additional construction, such as the building of more shelter and repairing the stockade for further use of the old fort. When Dr. Gardner located and visited the site of Camp Arbuckle in 1933—nearly 100 years after its founding and 70 years since the outbreak of the Civil War—, he saw evidences of the fortification and piles of chimney stones, 6 to 15 feet across, on the sites of four original buildings. These had stood about 50 to 100 feet apart at the corners of a quadrangle within the grounds of the stockade. The stone in the original buildings evidently had been hauled to the post a long distance, but the timbers must have been of cedar from the fine cedar forest in the vicinity, described by Captain Dawson reporting his first expedition in 1831.

Dr. Gardner recently sent in a statement with a copy of a letter from Samuel Kinney written in 1835, describing old Fort Arbuckle near the Red Fork on the Arkansas.[4] The statement and exact copy of the letter are given here:

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[4] In his letter of June 14, 1961, to the writer, relating to this study on the site of the Civil War "Battle of Round Mountain," Dr. James H. Garner states: "I do wish to say that after a careful analysis of the records, and the recent conference with you and Mr. Jack Alexander on the subject, I am convinced the site of this engagement was in the

In the *Chronicles* of June 1933, (Volume XI, No. 2), we related the search which resulted in fixing the location of the military establishment erected in 1834 near the mouth of the Red Fork (Cimarron) River mentioned variously as Camp Arbuckle, Fort Arbuckle and particularly in the war records as Post Arbuckle, being an outpost from Ft. Gibson for temporary protection of the settlers in this portion of the Creek Nation.

All that now remains at the site of the old post are four sizable piles of sandstone rocks from the foundations and chimneys which were gathered to permit cultivation in an open field in SW¼ section 2, T. 19 N., R. 10 E. in the west portion of Tulsa county on the Bud Anderson farm. It is outside of the flood area of the Cimarron Dam now under construction. The report of Lieutenant Samuel Kinney, of the Seventh Infantry, written at Camp Arbuckle on February 5, 1835, to Major General T. S. Jessup, Quartermaster General, follows:[5]

Camp Arbuckle
February 5th, 1835.

Sir:

In June last, two companies were detached from the 7th Regiment, by order of Brig. Genl. Leavenworth, then commanding the South Western frontier, to select a site, at or near the mouth of the Red Fork of the Arkansas River, and to erect a fort upon the same. Brevt. Major Birch commanding the detachment, selected a site, three miles below the mouth of the Red Fork, on the left bank of the Arkansas River and half a mile from it.

By virtue of Order No. 1 of Oct. 22, 1834 eminating from the Head Quarters of the South Western frontier, this Post was abandoned, and the troops withdrawn, with the exception of a small detachment left under my command, to guard a quantity of stores forwarded to this Post, during the summer from Fort Gibson.

This Post is distant from Fort Gibson seventy five miles. W. NW. twenty five. The works at this Post were commenced in June last, but, owing to the sickness of the troops, they progressed slowly. The drawing herewith enclosed, exhibits the ground plan of the buildings erected, they are all built of square hewn timbers, (with the exception of the kitchens) the quarters are one story, the Blockhouse two, shingle roofs, and built upon foundations of stone, raised a foot and a half above the surface of the ground. Each of the company and officers quarters is one continuous building, divided into 2 rooms of 22 feet square, with a vacant space, 6 ft. wide, between the rooms. The exterior walls are continuous, being intended as a line of defense, having for that purpose loop holes cut in them. Temporary floors are laid in the Blockhouse, two rooms of the company quarters and one of the Officers. They are otherwise rendered temporarily occupiable by the troops.

Keystone area as had long been defended from good authority . . . I can find no point to fit the accounts of the site of the engagement better than the Byers location in section 13, T. 20 N., R. 8 E. . . . ."

[5] From the National Archives and Records Service in Washington D. C., we have obtained the photostat copy of a hand-written letter from this post in 1835 by Lt. Samuel Kinney to General T. S. Jessup which describes the post. Kinney states that he enclosed with his letter a drawing to exhibit the ground plans of the buildings but unfortunately a search by the archivist in charge of the Early Wars Branch failed to find it in the files.

No Hospital has been erected, the quarters adjacent to the Company Kitchen are occupied as an Hospital.

No storehouses have been erected, The Blockhouse being occupied as a storehouse.

I am, Sir, respectfully
Your Mst. obt. Servt.
Saml. Kinney
Lieut & Act. Asst. QMaster
Comdg. Detachmt. 7th Infy.

To,
Majr. Genl T. S. Jesup
QuarterMaster Genl.
Washington City
D. C.

—*James H. Gardner*

The Big Osage War and Hunting Trail that became the Dawson Road

Other than pointing out a location for the new military post on the Arkansas in 1834, Captain Dawson's main work on his second expedition was marking the "Big Osage War and Hunting Trail"[6] south from the mouth of the Red Fork to the mouth of Little River on the Canadian, in present Hughes County. Here, another military post known as Camp Holmes (old Fort Holmes) was built in the same year. This Osage Trail ran from the Claremore Mound region (present Rogers County) south and west along the north side of the Arkansas to a river crossing about twelve miles below the mouth of the Red Fork. Dawson marked the Osage Trail beginning at a crossing about two miles below the mouth of the Red Fork, and continued west about a mile, passing around the low wooded hill that stands at the east edge of present Keystone; thence, south to the head of Rock Creek, passing en route through the prairie that lies immediately east of Round Mountain, in present Tulsa County. This bald, round hill (947 feet) is the lower of two elevations, the second (1033 feet) of which is broken in outline and wooded, standing a little over a mile southeast.

Dawson blazed the full length of the Big Osage Trail, placing high mounds of earth reinforced with stone and timber at intervals, to serve as markers at special places along the way. Old timers have said one such marker on top of Round Mountain could be seen from the Dawson Road as it became known in history.

The Dawson Road was traveled by the Delawares and the

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6 The Big Osage War and Hunting Trail had reference to the trail used by the "Great Osage" tribal division, whose villages were located in western Missouri in 1800.

Shawnees from their settlements south of the Canadian, on their way to visit their tribesmen and the Indian agencies in Eastern Kansas, long before the Civil War. The same trail, with some detours and side trails was the main route through the westernmost settlements of the Creek Nation for many years. These settlements were in the western part of present Creek and Okfuskee counties, on the east edge of the Cross Timbers, a wide band of rough country covered with blackjack and heavy undergrowth from 30 to 50 miles wide extending from the Red Fort to the Arkansas River, forming a natural barrier to the western prairies and plains far west.[7]

Some of the "towns" (communities) in the western Creek settlement along the old Dawson Road and other trails in the vicinity that are specially mentioned in the campaign against the Union Creeks, were Thlopthlocco, on the North Canadian River, about eight miles south of present Okemah: Greenleaf's Town (or Store) on the north side of the North Canadian, about four miles northwest of Thlopthlocco; Arbeka and "towns" nearby north of the Canadian, in the vicinity of present Boley; Big Pond north of the Deep Fork, some six or eight miles southeast of present Depew; Sell's Store about three miles north of the Little Deep Fork, at a crossing on Brown's Creek; and about four miles up the Little Deep Fork northwest of Sell's Store, on the south side of the stream, was the principal tribal town of the Yuchi (or Euchee), "Long Tiger Town" in the vicinity of the present Slick, in Creek County. There were also Yuchi living on Big Salt Creek, a branch of the Deep Fork, south of present Depew; some lived on Euchee Creek, on Rock Creek and on Salt Creek, a branch of the Red Fork, in the Red Fork Settlement. This was wild, sparsely settled region, the northwestern frontier of the Creek Nation in 1861. Tulsey and nearby

[7] The Cross Timbers and the Arkansas River formed the natural, western boundary for the Creeks and the Cherokees before the Civil War, even though their land claims extended far west beyond these barriers. All the country west of here, extending south from the Arkansas (in present Kansas) to the Canadian, though it overlapped the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole lands, was acknowledged as the territory of the Comanche, Kiowa and Kiowa Apache by the Treaty of Fort Atkinson in 1854. The late 1850's saw this western region as dangerous ground after the big battles fought by U.S. troops and Texans from the South, against the Comanches. It was still more dangerous at the outbreak of the Civil War, with the withdrawal of the U. S. troops from the Indian Territory, in May, 1861, and the occupation of the military posts by Confederate troops. None of the eastern Indians would think of taking their families and settling in the western country at this time, particularly the Union Creeks. For them, the Big Bend Country along the Arkansas in the Cherokee Outlet was the "far west" to which they were invited by James McDaniel and other leaders, and the trails to this region led due north from the Canadian to the Red Fork through the Creek settlements at the east edge of the Cross Timbers.

Locha-poka close to the river, on the site of the present City of Tulsa, were the northernmost Creek tribal towns of this northwestern frontier.

Skiatooka's Settlement

Soon after the government survey of the north boundary of the Creek Nation in 1850, the same line as the south boundary of the Cherokee Outlet, a number of Cherokees came to live on the north side of the Arkansas River as far west as the Big Bend where Cleveland is located, in present Pawnee County. This is the first Big Bend in the Arkansas above the mouth of the Red Fork, which with other bends farther west upstream is in the big loop of the Arkansas that forms the Great Bend Country, or Big Bend Country in this region, now Osage County, Oklahoma. Each of these lesser loops of the winding Arkansas is also known locally as the "Big Bend," by people living in the vicinity. The farthest west of the Cherokee settlements was Skiatooka's place near the present site of Osage, on the north side of the Arkansas about two miles below Cleveland which is in the Big Bend of present Pawnee County. Other Cherokees lived east on the streams some miles down the Arkansas, and over on Hominy (or Shoal) and Bird Creeks and their tributaries. This region was the northwestern frontier of the Cherokee Nation, known as Skiatooka's settlement before the Civil War.

On Hominy Creek a few miles above the mouth on Bird Creek lived James McDaniel,[8] a prominent Cherokee who was

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[8] James McDaniel was the grandson of a Scot by the name of McDaniel and his fullblood Cherokee wife, whose three children were Alexander, Lewis and Catherine. James McDaniel lived on Salequoyah Creek, Georgia in 1835, and served as one of the early editors of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. He came west during the Removal from Georgia in 1839, and made his home on the Illinois River in Going Snake District until he moved west to Cooweescoowee District about the time of its organization in 1854. When the Cherokee Regiment was organized in May, 1861, to protect the Cherokees living on the northern border, Chief John Ross appointed James McDaniel as Captain of Company D, under the command of Colonel John Drew. The signing of the Confederate Cherokee treaty at Park Hill, October 7, 1861, was immediately followed by Albert Pike's order organizing Drew's Regiment for service in the Confederate Army. Though Captain McDaniel was automatically in the new organization, he served only a short time, if at all, under its Confederate command. Strongly neutral in his stand in the War just beginning, he joined Opothleyahola's forces after the Battle of Round Mountain and fought in the big battle at Caving Banks on December 9, on the side of the Union Creeks. He later was commissioned Captain of Company A, in the Second Indian Home Guard Regiment of the Union Army. He served with the Union troops in a number of battles, including Prairie Grove, Arkansas, and Coffin Springs, near Welling, Oklahoma. He was Cherokee delegate to Washington after the War, and signed the agreement admitting the Delawares to citizenship rights in the Cherokee Nation. He died while in Washington about 1867. It is reported that he was buried in the Arlington Cemetery.

Map showing the site of the Battle of Red Fork or Round Mountain and other locations in the Keystone Region, 1861. (Legend: Solid triangles—Union Creek camp sites.)

neutral in his stand in the struggle between the North and the South at the outbreak of the War in 1861. It was through his approval and counseling with Skiatooka and others that Opothleyahola brought his people north of the Arkansas into the Cherokee Outlet after the battle of Round Mountain, having previously designated Skiatooka's settlement as the rendezvous where all the Union Indians were to meet.

Contrary to the generally accepted idea and writings of historians that Opothleyahola and his people were in hurried flight to Kansas when they first moved north, these Union groups had set out on their march for the Red Fork Settlement, and encamped near the mouth of the Red Fork just north of the Creek boundary, to await aid of Federal forces that were promised them from the North. The Union Creeks were waiting for this aid when they were attacked by Colonel Cooper's Confederate troops, and the hot fight took place, known in history as the Battle of Round Mountain. Just after this battle on the night of November 19, Opothleyahola with his warriors crossed to the north side of the Arkansas and encamped at the appointed rendezvous, in Skiatook's settlement.[9]

James McDaniel himself as well as Skiatooka immediately joined the Union Creeks, and fought in the second battle at Caving Banks on Hominy Creek, December 9, as a leader of the 400 Cherokees who had defected the day before from Colonel John Drew's Confederate Cherokee Command. Showing the location of Opothleyahola's camp for the Confederate troop movements before this second battle, Colonel Drew's letter written at Camp Brown on December 1, states: "Opothleyahola's camp is in the Cherokee Nation on the same creek that Capt. McDaniel lives on, about seventeen miles above."[10] The next day—December 2—Acting Adjutant General R. W. Lee wrote from his headquarters,[11] Camp Perryman at "Tulsey Town Settlement," stating that Opotheleyahola on this date was "about 6 miles above

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9 James R. Gregory, *op. cit.*, in Civil War File, 1861.

10 Original letter, R. W. Lee, A.A. Adjt. Genl. Brigade, Indian Department, Camp Perryman, Tulsey Town Settlement, Dec. 2, 1861, to Col. John Drew, C.S.A., Comdy, Cherokee Regt.—Civil War File 1861.

11 Original letter, Col. John Drew (unsigned), Head Qrts. Chero. Regt., Camp Brown, Dec. 1, 1861, to Lt. Col. Ross (*ibid.*) John Drew was commissioned Colonel of the Regiment of Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, and William P. Ross, Lieutenant Colonel, by Albert Pike, Commissioner of the Confederate States to the Indian Nations West of Arkansas, at Park Hill, Oct. 7, 1861 (Original paper, *ibid.*). John Drew, was a prominent leader among the Western Cherokees, and a signer of the Cherokee Constitution at Tahlequah, Sept. 6, 1839, (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Early History of Webbers Falls", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951-1952), p. 457. Additional biographical notes on John Drew appear in this article).

the mouth of the Red Fork, on this (North) side of Arkansas River, and about 25 miles from us in considerable forces. . . ." These statements from the Confederate commanders, Drew and Lee, point to Opothleyahola's position on Walnut Creek on the north side of the Arkansas. Years after the Civil War, Postoak whose relatives had been with the Union Creeks in the Battle of Round Mountain searched out Opothleyahola's camp site from information given him, at a location on the east side of Walnut Creek, about a mile north of the Arkansas.

The head of Walnut Creek (almost due north from its mouth) is only a few miles from the head of Wild Horse Creek, a branch of Hominy Creek. Old maps show a country road up Walnut Creek to the present community of Wild Horse in Osage County, and thence a dim trail leads along Wild Horse Creek over to Hominy Creek, the airline distance from the mouth of Walnut Creek to the mouth of Wild Horse Creek being about twelve miles. By December 1, 1861, the Union Creeks had gathered "in considerable forces," apparently strung out in their camps from Opothleyahola's location (on Walnut Creek) "6 *miles above the mouth of the Red Fork,*" on the north side of the Arkansas, over to a location on Hominy Creek, "*seventeen miles above*" James McDaniel's. These positions are borne out by these statements in the reports of the two Confederate officers, Colonel John Drew, of the First Cherokee Regiment, and Adjutant General R. W. Lee, of the Texas Brigade.

Within less than a week after Lee's report of December 2, Opothleyahola's warriors—about 1,500 Creek, Seminole, Yuchi and some Delaware and Kickapoo "all painted up for a fight"—had swarmed down Hominy Creek to a position near Caving Banks, given as "Camp McDaniel" on the Cox Map, a primary source that shows the movements of the Union Indians in the Opothleyahola campaign. This point is one of many that prove the reliability of this remarkable map drawn by Agent John Cox in 1864, from data supplied by participants in the battles against Opothleyahola and by James McDaniel, all of whom were members of the Union Indian Home Guard Regiment stationed at Fort Gibson in 1864.[12]

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[12] John T. Cox, born and educated in Ohio, moved to Kansas in 1857. He laid out six new townsites as county surveyor, and served as a clerk in two sessions of the Kansas Territorial Legislature before the summer of 1861, at which time he enlisted in the Union Army at Fort Lincoln, in Bourbon County. In the spring of 1862, he assisted with the organization of the Indian Home Guard regiments. Cox served as first lieutenant and as quartermaster in these regiments. In December, 1862, he was engaged in mapping the country through which the Union Army passed, and was present at the Battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas, where he mapped the battlefield for *Harper's Weekly*. He was later appointed U.S. Indian Agent, and was at Fort Gibson where the Indian

Colonel Cooper's Report on the Battle of Round Mountain

The portion of Colonel Cooper's report written on January 20, 1862, relating to the battle near the Red Fork with the three reports of his two officers, Captains M. J. Brinson and R. A. Young, is given here as published in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series I, Vol. VIII, pp. 5-7, 14-15:

OPERATIONS IN INDIAN TERRITORY
No. 1

Report of Col. Douglas H. Cooper, First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, commanding Indian Department, of operations November 19, 1861 . . .

Headquarters Indian Department
Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation, January 20, 1862.

SIR: Having exhausted every means in my power to procure an interview with Hopoeithleyohola, for the purpose of effecting a peaceful settlement of the difficulties existing between his party and the constituted authorities of the Creek Nation, finding that my written overtures, made through several of the leading captains, were treated with silence, if not contempt, by him, and having received positive evidence that he had been for a considerable length of time in correspondence, if not alliance, with the Federal authorities in Kansas, I resolved to advance upon him with the forces under my command, and either compel submission to the authorities of the nation or drive him and his party from the country.

Accordingly, on the 15th day of November last, the troops, consisting of six companies of the First Regiment Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles; a detachment from the Fourth (Ninth) Regiment Texas Cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Quayle; the Creek regiment, under Col. D. N. McIntosh, and the Creek and Seminole battalion, under Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh (the Creek war chief), and Maj. John Jumper (Chief of Seminoles). in all about 1,400 men, were moved up the Deep Fork of the Canadian towards the supposed camp of Hopoeithleyohola's forces. The camp, which had been abandoned, was found, and the trail from it followed, with varied prospects of success, until the 19th of the month named, on which day some of the disaffected party were seen and a few prisoners taken. From these prisoners information was obtained that a portion of Hopoeithleyohola's party were near the Red Fork of the Arkansas River, on their route towards Walnut Creek, where a fort was being erected, and which had for some time

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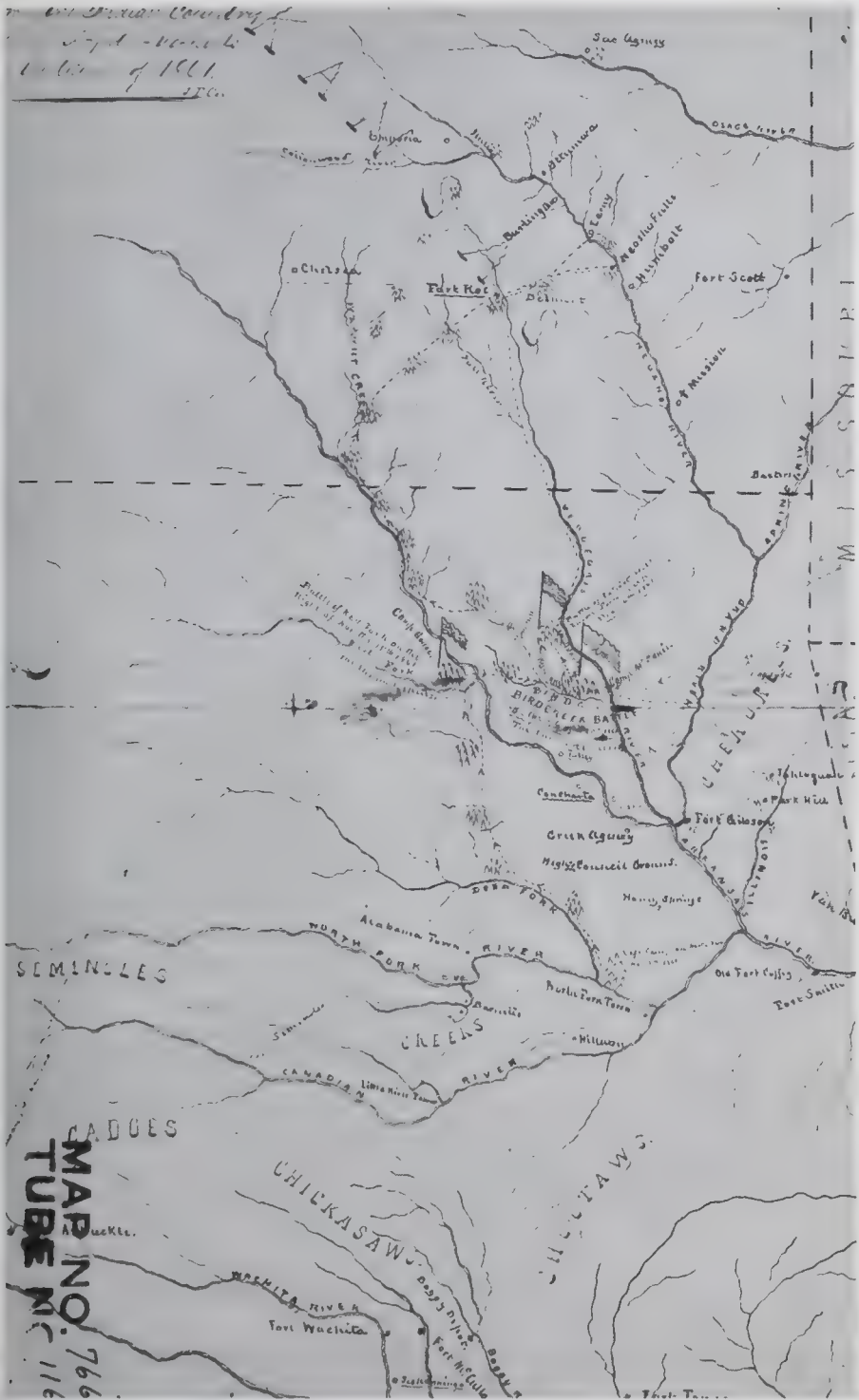
Regiments were quartered in the spring of 1864. He made his map showing the movements of Opothleyahola's followers in 1861, from data supplied by participants in the battles against the Union Creeks and by Captain James McDaniel who enlisted in the Indian Home Guard regiments when they were organized. In submitting his map to the U.S. Indian Office during the War, Mr. Cox spoke of "the facilities within my reach for obtaining facts connected" with the remarkable exodus of the Union Creeks from their Nation in 1861.—See biography of "John T. Cox," by Dean Trickett, Civil War authority of Tulsa, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIX pp. 493-4, and also, letter of John T. Cox in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report* 1864. The original of the Cox Map is in the National Archives.



(National Archives)

The John Cox Map. Drawn in 1864 from data given by participants in the battles between the Confederate forces and the Union Creeks, in the Indian Territory.

been their intended destination in the event of not receiving promised aid from Kansas before being menaced or attacked.

After crossing the Red Fork it became evident that the party was near and the command was pushed rapidly forward. About 4 o'clock p.m. some camp smokes were discovered in front a short distance and the enemy's scouts seen at various points. A charge was ordered to be made by the detachment of Texas cavalry under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Quayle, upon the camp, which, however, was found to have been recently deserted. Other scouts, being discovered beyond the camp, were pursued by the Texas troops about 4 miles, when they disappeared in the timber skirting a creek, upon which it was afterwards ascertained the forces of Hopoeithleyohola were then encamped. While searching for the fugitives the troops were fired upon by the concealed enemy, and 1 man was killed. The enemy immediately appeared in large force, and our troops, rallying and forming, succeeded in making a stand for a short time, when the efforts of the vastly superior force of the enemy to outflank and inclose them caused them to retire.

During the retreat towards the main body of our forces a constant fire was kept up on both sides. Many of the enemy were killed, and on our part 1 officer and 4 men and 1 man wounded. So soon as the firing was heard at the position of the main body the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment was formed and advanced towards the enemy.

The exceeding darkness of the night rendered the relative position of our friends and foes uncertain and restrained the firing on our part until the enemy was within 60 yards of our line. Even then the order to fire was withheld until Col. James Bourland, of Texas (my volunteer aide on the occasion), and myself rode to the front, and the former called to those aproaching, asking if any Texans were there, which was answered by the crack of the enemy's rifles. A brisk fire was then opened by companies I and K, under Captains Welch and Young, and by companies D, E, and G, under Captains Hall, Reynolds, and McCurtain, as they successively took position. After a short but sharp conflict the firing of the enemy ceased, and under cover of the darkness he made good his retreat. About 50 Choctaws and Texans were then sent out, under Actg. Asst. Adjt. Gen. R. W. Lee, to examine the ravine in front and on the flanks, when it was found that the enemy had left the field and retreated in the direction of their camps.

During the action the line was re-enforced by portions of Captains Brinson's, T. G. Berry's, J. E. McCool's, and Stewart's companies, of the Texas regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Quayle, and by a few Creeks, under Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh, Captain Severs, and Lieutenant Berryhill. In the last encounter we had 2 men severely wounded and 1 slightly. Many horses were shot. Our men escaped mainly in consequence of being dismounted and by firing either kneeling or lying down. Our entire loss in the engagement was 1 captain and 5 men killed, 3 severely and 1 slightly wounded, and 1 missing. Prisoners taken since the battle concur in stating the loss of the enemy to have been about 110 killed and wounded.

Soon after daylight on the 20th the main camp of the enemy was entered, and it was found that they had precipitately abandoned it, leaving behind the chief's buggy, 12 wagons, flour, sugar, coffee, salt, etc., besides many cattle and ponies. Hopoeithleyohola's force in this engagement has been variously estimated at from 800 to 1,200 Creeks and Seminoles and 200 to 300 negroes.

The conduct of both officers and men within the scope of my observation was marked by great coolness and courage. I would particularize as worthy of high commendation the conduct of Col. James Bourland (who kindly volunteered his valuable services on this occasion and at other times); Actg. Asst. Adjt. Gen. R. W. Lee; Maj. Mitchell Laflore; Lieut. Joseph A. Carroll, acting adjutant Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles; Capts. O. G. Welch, R. A. Young, and Lem. M. Reynolds, commanding Chickasaw companies, and Capts. Joseph R. Hall and Jackson McCurtain, commanding Choctaw companies, of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles; Lieutenant-Colonel Quayle and Captains Brinson and McCool, of the Texas regiment; Captain Severs, of the Creek regiment; Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh, Creek battalion; Lieut. Samuel Berryhill, of the Creek regiment, and Maj. J. Jumper, Seminole battalion.

The promptness with which the Choctaws and Chickasaws came into line and the steadiness with which they maintained their position during the entire action merit unqualified praise, especally when it is considered that the night was extremely dark, the number and position of the enemy uncertain, and that they stood for the first time under an enemy's fire.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded: W. J. Lyttle, Captain Welch's squadron Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment, severely wounded; Daniel Cox, Captain Welch's squadron Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment, slightly wounded; Capt. C. S. Stewart, Texas regiment, killed: John H. Crow, Texas regiment, killed; —— Reed, Texas regiment, killed; —— Jackson, Texas regiment, killed; John Friend, Texas regiment, severely wounded; —— Smith, Creek regiment, killed; —— Smith, Creek regiment, severely wounded; one killed, name not reported.

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This report has been long delayed, but the apparent neglect will, it is hoped, be justified when it is considered by the Department that we have been constantly in the field on active service since the events reported until within the past two weeks, during which the placing of the troops in winter quarters has engaged my time and attention.

I have the honor, sir, to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DOUGLAS H. COOPER,
Colonel, C. S. Army, Commanding Indian Department.

Hon. J. P. BENJAMIN
Secretary of War, Richmond, Va.

No. 2

Report of Capt. M. J. Brinson, Ninth Texas Cavalry, of engagement at Round Mountain.

Camp Wilson
Creek Nation, November 25, 1861.

SIR: I hereby transmit to you an account of the battle fought on the 19th instant:

The attack was brought on by the second squadron about sunset, composed of about 70 men. I was promptly aided on my right by Captain Berry and on my left by Captain McCool, who formed in my own, or second squadron. After firing from three to five rounds I perceived the enemy in strong position and force, numbering some 1,500 Indians, and flanking my small force upon the right and left, I had

necessarily to fall back to the main command, some 2½ miles, under a heavy retreating fire. The whole command—in which I fought my own squadron, Captain Berry's company, a part of McCool's, and a part of Captain Williams' company — I am confident did not amount to exceeding 150 men.

In my own company I regret to have to report the loss of John H. Crow, a private, killed. None wounded. One horse, 1 gun, and 5 powder-flasks lost.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. J. BRINSON
Commanding.

Lieut. Col. William Quayle.

No. 3

Reports of Capt. R. A. Young, First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, of engagement at Round Mountain.

Springfield Camp,
Cherokee Nation, November 30, 1861.

COLONEL: On the 19th instant, a little after night-fall, we were ordered to saddle up and mount our horses, and the order was given to march. After marching about 200 to 300 yards we were ordered to halt and form, which we did, and then advanced (to with) in about 150 yards of the enemy and dismounted. While dismounting we were fired on and 2 of our horses shot. My men dismounted in good order, and I ordered them to advance and fire. We advanced 8 or 10 paces from our horses and fired, the enemy keeping up a constant fire on us. We loaded and fired the third time and silenced the enemy's guns.

The prairie was on fire on my right, and as we advanced to the attack I could see very distinctly the enemy passing the fire, and I supposed a large body of men (200 or 300), but they were about 300 yards from me and the prairie was burning very rapidly, and I may have taken the motion of the grass for men.

I lost 6 horses in the fight; those that were not mortally wounded stampeded, and we could not find them next morning. I suppose the engagement lasted fifteen minutes.

I am, colonel, respectfully, yours,

R. A. YOUNG,
Capt., Comdg. Co. K, 1st Regt. C. and C. Mounted Rifles.

Col. D. H. Cooper
Commanding Indian Department.

———— —, 1861.

COLONEL: On the morning of December [November] 19 I was ordered to bring up the rear with my squadron, and about 6 miles from camp the rear guard sent me a message that they were attacked by the enemy. I immediately wheeled the squadron and went back to their assistance and got about half a mile, [when] I discovered the enemy retreating towards the creek. I formed, and Colonel Cooper rode up and ordered me to charge. After pursuing about 2 miles we came to the creek and I dismounted my men and advanced into the swamp, but not finding the enemy, I ordered the men to return to their horses and mount. My squadron was on the right of our command, and after I had mounted the squadron I received orders from Colonel Cooper to form on the left of the Texas regiment, and in order to get to the left

of the Texas regiment I had to pass down the creek, and discovered the regiment coming up to my right, and about the same time discovered the enemy to my right in a bend of the creek, formed around a house. I formed and charged. We routed them from this position and followed them into the swamp 200 yards. They flanked us, and I fell back to the house in order to prevent them from surrounding us. We advanced on them a second time, and were compelled to fall back to the house in consequence of their flanking around. We had only 80 men in the squadron, while the enemy had 400 or 500, fighting us with all the advantages of the creek on us and a complete natural ambuscade to protect them.

I have to report the death of Private F. T. Rhodes and 9 others wounded in the squadron.

We fought them between three and five hours.

I am, colonel, respectfully, yours,

R. A. YOUNG,
Captain, Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, C. S. Army.
Col. D. H. Cooper,
Commanding Indian Department

Captain Young's second report presented above from the *Official Records* has generally been discarded by historians writing on the Opothleyahola campaign since the text of the report seems to give a description of Young's action at the Battle of Chusto Talasah (Caving Banks) fought on December 9, 1961. However, a close reading of this report in the light of other reliable data on the battle at the Red Fork or Round Mountain is startling in its description, and reveals much that happened during the day of November 19, not given by Cooper. The writer here has no valid reason to doubt the original editing of Young's report and its inclusion in the *Official Records* with that of Colonel Cooper, on the "Engagement at Round Mountain." Though Young's report is not vital as documentary evidence for this review of the battle yet it is kept in line and included with Cooper's report shown above since its description of the Captain's skirmishing parallels data given by reliable Indian informants whose families lived in the Red Fork Settlement long before the Civil War and by early day white settlers who know the traditions of this region.

November 15th in the Opothleyahola Campaign

The Cooper Report and other sources mark November 15 as an important date in the movement of both the Confederate forces and the Union Creeks. The Report states that "on the 15th of November last, the troops . . . in all about 1,400 men, were moved up the Deep Fork of the Canadian towards the supposed camp of Hopoeithleyohola's forces."

The movement of all the forces, both Confederate and Creek preparatory to this, was underway by November 5. Colonel Cooper had received the following hurriedly written letter from

the commanding officer of the Creek Regiment on the same day it was written:[13]

Camp Porter, Oct. 27, 1761.
Col. Cooper

Sir The men sent to learn the condition of Hopothle a ho las party have returned and state that they were disbanded in three parcels. The 1st under the pretext of hunting were to repair to Council Grove. The 2 parcel pretending to return to their homes were to secure possessions and go out. The 3 parcel took a large lot of Negroes and went from their present encampment north over the waters of the Deep Fork. In substance this is about all

Your Obt Ser't D. N. Mcintosh
Comdg Creek Regt

Colonel Cooper left the next day up the North Canadian for Thlopthlocco where he arrived the evening of October 29, but was unable to learn anything of Opothleyahola's plans other than that he had left his headquarters at Greenleaf's Town which was about four miles northwest on the North Canadian, and had gone north over "the waters of the Deep Fork."[14] Cooper did get firsthand information however, that one Alexander Warfield had been buying up horses as far west as Santa Fe (New Mexico) in September, and that the horses and some droves of cattle were to be driven east through the Indian Territory to the Texas Road north of Fort Gibson. A drove of 300 horses was to be delivered to Fort Cobb by November 17. Cooper suspicioned that the stock was intended for delivery to the Union forces and, also, that Union troops planned to be at Fort Cobb by the date mentioned.[15] He ordered Colonel John Drew, commanding the

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13 Copy of a letter, D. N. McIntosh to Cooper, Civil War File 1861, Grant Foreman Collection. The "3 parcel" mentioned was Opothleyahola's group. The Negroes were some of his own slaves and others of the Creek slaveholders among his colleagues. There were no doubt runaway slaves among them from other parts of the country since the loss of run-away Negroes owned by some of the McIntosh Creeks as well as prominent Cherokee slaveholders was the cause of trouble that arose in the Creek Nation early in September, 1861. It was reported that 300 Negroes were with the Union Creeks when they moved north. These Negroes were taken north in the van led by Opothleyahola to help rebuild old Fort Arbuckle as well as to assist the throng of women and children and old people, some of them with loaded wagons, when they came to the crossing of the Arkansas near the old post. (Biographical notes on D. N. McIntosh and others of this noted family are in John H. Meserve's "The MacIntoshes," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 [September, 1932], pp. 310-325.)

14 Original letter of Cooper to Drew, from "Camp near Thlopthlocco Square, Creek Nation, October 29, 1861," Civil War File 1861.

15 Micco Hutka, special emissary of Opotheleyahola and his colleague Oktaha harse Harjo (or Sands), chief of the Union Creeks, was given a letter addressed to the two leaders by E. H. Carruth, U.S. Commissioner in Kansas, dated September 10, 1861, promising aid of troops: "Our Army will go south, and those of your people who are true and loyal to the Government will be treated as friends . . . The Com-

Cherokee Regiment at Fort Gibson to arrest Warfield and others suspected of communicating with the enemy, if found, and to turn them over to General McCulloch. Cooper returned to his headquarters near Fisher's store, on the Deep Fork.

On November 5, Cooper wrote the following letter to Colonel Drew who was supposed to be on his way north up the Neosho (or Grand) River to the northeastern part of the Cherokee Nation:[16]

Head Quarters Indian Brigade Deep Fork
Near Fishers Nov. 5th, 1861.

Colnl

Your Regiment having been mustered into the Service, you will march, with the least possible delay, up the Neosho, to support Col. Stand Watie—pentrate Kansas (if pofsible), and carry into effect the instructions heretofore given you.

I learn, verbally, from Majr Clark who brought despatches from Genl. McCulloch & arrived day before yesterday that the Genl. supposed you had already marched for Kansas — Genl. McCulloch having placed at my disposal such of the Texas Regiments now on the march for North Fork Town as may be needed for the defence of the Indian Country I have directed Lt. Wells to dispense with the services of such additional Indian forces as may have offered themselves under my call unlefs specially required by Genl. McCulloch.

I shall be in the Cherokee Country as soon as pofsible with the forces under my command, and will Communicate with you — Hopoithlayahola's people are said to be moving towards Walnut Creek.

I am Col'n your Obt. Servt
Douglas H. Cooper
Col Comdg Ind Dept

Coln John Drew
Comdg. Cherokee Regiment
Camp at [?]

Cooper left his headquarters near Fisher's on a ten day tour of the Confederate camps east, to organize the troops for his expedition northwest. On November 10, he wrote from Camp Pike to Lieut. Colonel W. P. Ross, of the Cherokee Regiment, at Fort Gibson:[17]

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missioners from the Confederate States have deceived you . . . But the President is still alive . . . His soldiers will soon drive these men who have violated your homes from the land they have treacherously entered."—*Official Records,* Vol. VIII, p. 25.

[16] Original letter Cooper to Drew, written near Fisher's Store (about 4 miles north of North Fork Town, on North Canadian) on November 5, 1861.—Civil War File 1861.

[17] Copy of letter, Cooper to W. P. Ross, Civil War File 1861, in the Editorial Department. The heading of this letter shows Camp Pike in the Creek Nation. Camp Pike, however, was a well known Confederate Camp located on the east side of the Canadian River in the Choctaw Nation, about seven or eight miles northwest of present Stigler, in Haskell County, from 1862.

Head Quarters, Indian Dept.
Camp Pike, Creek Nation,
Nov. 10, 1861.

Sir,

I have received your communication, dated at Fort Gibson, Nov. 8th, and fully concur in the opinions therein expressed, and have done all in my power, to effect a friendly settlement of the Creek difficulties.

You are mistaken in regard to Hopoithlayahola's pacific intentions, as from reliable information, I am perfectly satisfied that he is now meditating an attack upon my camp, in conjunction with Doct. Jamison, and 1000 Jayhawkers, at this time near the Arkansas River. If you can make a rapid march, in the direction of "Coody's," (which I suppose to be on the California road up the Arkansas) and then get in rear of the Kansas force, it would be of material aid to me, and an advisable movement.

Very respectfully, Yr. obt. Servt.
Douglas H. Cooper
Col. Comdg. Indn. Dept.

Lt. Col. W. P. Rofs,
Cherokee Regt.
Fort Gibson.

From these two letters, it is evident that Cooper did not know the frontier of the Cherokee Nation in 1861, neither the northern along the Verdigris River nor the northwestern along the Arkansas. He supposed that Coodey's Bluff was somewhere on the Arkansas. Instead, it was many miles east up on the Verdigris. Coodey's Bluff is still a well known place about four miles east of the present City of Nowata, in Nowata County. Cooper was not alone in his lack of knowledge of the region since letters written by some of his men show that they were still confused about the location of recent events even after they had scouted and camped around in the region for six weeks.

Colonel Drew arrived and encamped at Coodey's Bluff on November 19, the same day as the Battle of Round Mountain. He had no word from Cooper until November 25 when he received a letter written in Cherokee that there had been a skirmish over on the Red Fork. And after that, no one knew where Opothleyahola was until December 2 when Lee reported his encampment on the north side of the Arkansas, about six miles above the mouth of the Red Fork. Two days later (December 4), Stand Watie (east of Drew's position) was asking, "Where are the discontented Creeks, and Cherokees if any?" One thing is certain in looking back: The letters written in the campaign against the Union Creeks, from about the middle of November to the last of December, and other authentic sources as well as tradition show that Confederate troop activities—the battles, the marching along the trails and moving encampments from one site to another—took place within a radius of thirty miles of Tulsey Town.

Another point, Cooper's letter written near Fisher's Store,

on November 5, 1861, closes with this statement: "Hopoithleyahola's people are said to be moving towards Walnut Creek." But where was Walnut Creek? It is doubtful that Cooper himself knew where it was. He received his information on the movements of the Union Creeks translated from their native language, or possibly the Yuchi, than which there is none more difficult to this day. Furthermore, Opothleyahola and his men did resort to ruse if need be. They would give a descriptive name of a specific location known to them without regard to maps and records of a region. Today, the "Walnut River," a branch of the Arkansas just below present Arkansas City near the south line of Kansas, is a well known stream known in Oklahoma history since the 1870's. U.S. Military Maps even several years after the close of the Civil War show this stream as "White Water Creek." The U.S. Military Map of 1875,[18] gives the name of the stream as "Walnut or White Water Creek." It may be that down in the region of the Red Fork, the little creek called "Walnut Creek" on the north side of the Arkansas, about six miles above the mouth of the Red Fork (Cimarron), was not yet named in 1861, though most streams in this part of Cherokee Outlet did have English names at the time. The name of the Walnut River on the Arkansas, near present Arkansas City, apparently did develop locally by the end of the Civil War, as "Walnut Creek." But the little "Walnut Creek" above the mouth of the Red Fork is identifiable in history long before the Civil War. The main trail down the Arkansas from Skiatooka's place to old Fort Arbuckle and Tulsey Town settlement, crossed this Walnut Creek near its mouth, and from here a branch trail went up the east side of the creek and over along the Wild Horse to Shoal (or Hominy) Creek. This Walnut Creek was the center of the finest walnut timber on the Arkansas, and was easily identifiable as the location of the rendezvous for Opothleyahola's forces coming up from the Canadian and the Deep Fork, most of whom had never been in this region before.[19] Their movements in 1861 were

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18. The U.S. Military of 1869, prepared by order of Maj. Gen. J. M. Schofield, show three branches on the east side of the stream now called "Walnut River": Hickory Creek about ten miles above the mouth; Little Walnut Creek, above this, and Walnut Creek still farther north. The 1875 Map was compiled under order of General John Pope. Originals of these two maps are in the National Archives at Washington, D.C. Photostatic copies are in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

19 Homes built in early days of Tulsa were of walnut, or had walnut trim brought down the Arkansas from the region a few miles above the mouth of the Red Fork. Showing the finest specimen of walnut timber in the Indian Territory as late as 1904, a solid block of walnut log four feet in diameter was cut in this region and shipped for exhibit in the Indian Territory building at the World's Fair and Columbian Exposition in St. Louis.

See Appendix A at the end of this article, for notes of the life of Douglas H. Cooper and Opothleyahola.

held close by the Union Creeks.

The whole movement of the Confederate forces under the command of Colonel Cooper was set by the Union Creeks—its timing, route followed and destination—under the genius and leadership of Opothleyahola, one of the most remarkable organizers in the history of the American Indians.

The Cooper Report briefs the movements of the Confederate troops beginning on November 15, by the statement that on this date they were moved up the Deep Fork. On November 14, he wrote the following letter from Camp McCulloch located some miles northeast of Fort Gibson, in the vicinity of Park Hill:[20]

Headquarters
Indian Department
Camp McCulloch, C.N.
Nov. 14, 1861

Col.

I shall march from this post, tomorrow morning, with all my available force except such as it is necessary to leave as a guard for my train. It will become necessary to move the train as soon as Col. Sims comes up with the balance of his Regt. in consequence of the failure of forage. It will cross the Arkansas when it moves, above Pole Cat, or at Rider Fields', Concharty settlement. I have 500 of the Texas Regt. with me.

Very Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A.
Com. of Indian Dept.

Col. John Drew, C.S.A.
Comdg. Cherokee Regt.
Fort Gibson
Ch. Nation

By Command
R. W. Lee
A. A. Adjt. Genl.

Colonel Cooper left Camp McCulloch the next morning (November 15) with the 500 Texas troops, and arrived a few hours later on the same day at Fort Gibson. Evidently, the rest of his forces had not yet arrived from Buck Creek Camp, headquarters and training center for the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment down in the Choctaw Nation, nor from Camp Porter, headquarters for Colonel D. N. McIntosh's Creek Regiment near

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[20] Copy of letter in Civil War File 1861. This Camp McCulloch was the encampment occupied during the recent Cherokee Treaty negotiations carried on by Albert Pike in early October, near Park Hill. The 500 troops of the Texas Cavalry Regiment had been detached from General McCullough's forces northeast near the Missouri line, and had come over to meet Colonel Cooper before he set out on his campaign west.

the Creek Council Ground.[21] Cooper left word at Fort Gibson that his headquarters' camp would be at Concharty, a location near present Stone Bluff, in southwestern Wagoner County, about five miles west of the old Choska crossing on the Arkansas River.

A check of early maps and other data shows Cooper's route west from Fort Gibson to the Red Fork on the Arkansas. He traveled approximately 115 miles from the morning of November 15 when he left Camp McCulloch to the morning of November 19. His troops crossed the Arkansas River at Choska, and followed a route west passing the vicinity of present Beggs, in Okmulgee County, then on toward the Deep Fork. It continued up the Little Deep Fork in a northwestern direction to Sell's Store. At or near this place, Cooper was joined with the rest of his expeditionary forces and wagon train. From Sell's Store, the road followed was up the Little Deep Fork about four miles to the vicinity of Long Tiger Town of the Yuchi, near present Slick. Here, Confederate scouts brought in word that Opothleyahola had left his camp at Big Pond[22] more than a week before but his trail had been found leading up the Little Deep Fork. This trail was along the *old Dawson Road*.[23] The route continued up the

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21 Wiley Britton and news items of the day printed in Arkansas papers state that Colonel Cooper set out from Fort Gibson on November 15, moving "up the Deep Fork of the Canadian River in search of Hopoeithleyahola's camp." Fort Gibson, of course, is nowhere near the Deep Fork. The Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, having been delayed in getting forage for their train, came up from Buck Creek Camp, located about five miles northwest of present Panama in LeFlore County, arriving at Fisher's Store too late to make it in good time to Fort Gibson. These troops marched up the North Canadian and the Deep Fork to the vicinity of Camp Porter near the Creek Council ground. Camp Porter was in the prairie at the edge of the timber about six miles from the Council Ground, or High Spring. The site of this ground is in the southeastern part of Okmulgee County, on the hill at the south line of the County, about eight miles south of present Eram. The Confederate Creek troops joined the expeditionary forces, and both were moving up the Deep Fork on November 15.—For Britton's statement, see *The Civil War on the Border*, 1891-62 (New York, 1899), Vol. L, p. 166.

22 Big Pond was one of a number of large ponds on the north side of the Deep Fork, some six or eight miles southeast of present Depew, in Creek County. These large ponds covered with water lilies were an unusual sight described by Thomas Nuttall in his book, *Journal of Travels in Arkansas Territory*, on his visit to the Red Fork in 1819.

23 The note on Sell's Store and other statements on the Opothleyahola Campaign are found in a manuscript in the National Archives, titled "Statement relative to the Exodus of Hopoith-la-yo-ho-la and his followers from the Creek and Cherokee country in the fall and winter of 1861 and 1862." A photostat of this paper is in Civil War File 1861, Editorial Department, and is referred to in subsequent notes in this study of the Cooper Report as the "Exodus Statement." This shows the original paper was signed by the Cherokees—W. P. Adair, R. Fields, J. A. Scales—and the Creeks—D. N. McIntosh, James M. C.

Little Deep Fork to a point a few miles east of present Bristow, and then veered northeastward passing in the vicinity of present Kellyville. The Confederate troops camped on Rock Creek some miles northwest of present Sapulpa, on the night of November 18.

In the meantime, the Union Creeks had moved into the Red Fork Settlement. The trouble facing them in November, 1861, was reported by their Chief (Sand) in a statement read by Sandford Perryman to the U.S. Commissioners in their meeting with all the tribal delegations held at Fort Smith in September, 1865. The report mentions the Confederate Creek Treaty of July 12, 1865, signed by Albert Pike. Excerpts from the statement are as follows:[24]

In signing the above-named treaty, our principal chief had violated our law, and subjected himself to removal from office. Consequently a convention was called on the 5th of August, 1861. Our present chief, Sands, was authorized, under the provision of our law, to act as principal chief of the Creek nation, and his life, and that of others of our leading men, was threatened by the hostile party; and being informed that there was a large force marching on us for the purpose of pressing us into the rebel service. . . ."

We were not so timid, but stood firm to our old and tried friends and protectors, and were determined to resist even unto blood, and protect the lives of our men and those of our women and children; and, in accordance with a former treaty which we had made, we took measures to so inform our father at Washington. After putting our women and children in charge of the leading men and warriors, our chief and others repaired to Washington, although the journey had to be commenced through an uninhabited country, and this for a distance of some hundreds of miles. On arriving there, face to face, we informed our great father of the situation that our country was in, and were informed by our Great Father that our treaties were and should be respected; and we were further assured that he would send us help as soon as he could; and we think that all of the talk is on the record in Washington. . . ."

We were threatened with entire annihilation, and were compelled to leave our homes and all that we possessed in the world, and travelled north in the hope of meeting our friends from the north. We were followed by a large force of rebel Indians and Texans, commanded by Colonel D. W. Cooper, and being closely pressed, we were compelled to halt and give them battle; and although their forces were far superior to ours, we drove them back, and then resumed our journey north, and crossed the Arkansas, and camped in the Cherokee nation. The above-mentioned fight was known as the Red Fork fight. While we

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Smith, Tim Barnett, (The last named was a Yuchi who sided with the Confederates), and notarized at Washington, D.C., on March 19, 1868. The Exodus Statement was written for some Indian claims, and is prejudiced in favor of the Confederate allignment in the recent war.

[24] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report* 1865, pp. 328-29. In November, 1861, Oktaha-harsee Harjo (Sands) and his party made the long trip through to Washington. They reported the plight of their people, and made a strong plea for armed assistance before U.S. government officials.

were in the last-named camp, the battle of Bird Creek took place, which ended in Colonel Cooper being again driven off. We were attacked the third time by Generals McIntosh and Standwitte (*sic*) with a large force of cavalry, and were completely routed and scattered, and a large force of women and children were killed and captured, and we were scattered throughout the country, exposed to all the dangers of the western wilds, and the inclemency of the winter, and travelled to Kansas in blood and snow, not arriving there until the following spring.

Early in May, 1861, some of the Creek leaders had gone west with a delegation of Cherokees, Chickasaws and other tribes to urge neutrality and a united front of all the Indian people in the War between the Northern and the Southern states just begun. They visited the Seminoles at their Council House near present Tribbey, in Pottawatomie County, and contacted the Delawares living at old Camp Arbuckle, in McClain County, where they found that the noted Black Beaver was away guiding all the U.S. Army troops out of the Indian Territory to Kansas, under the command of Colonel William H. Emory. The delegation talked with the Kickapoos in their settlement in the vicinity of present Lexington, in Cleveland County;[25] visited the Comanche villages on the Canadian River, near the Antelope Hill, and other Comanche and Kiowa villages near the Salt Plains, as far northwest as present Harper County; and returned by way of Jesse Chisholm's trading post at Council Grove, on the east side of a bend in the North Canadian River. This site is on the west edge of present Oklahoma City.

When the delegation arrived back at the Creek Council ground the latter part of July, Opothleyahola with Chief Sands were already determined in their stand against the Confederate Creek Treaty. The Council meeting was held on August 5. A month later, bitter war was a reality between the Upper and Lower divisions in the Creek Nation. Consternation spread among all the Creeks when Chief John Ross signed the Confederate Cherokee Treaty with Commissioner Albert Pike, on October 7. On this day at Park Hill, Commisisoner Pike wrote a pardon for the Union Creeks, which states in part: "The Confederate States of America hereby offer full pardon to Hopoilthle Yahola and to all Creek and other Warriors now under him in arms against the Confederate States and the authorities of the Creek Nation, on condition that they submit and lay down their arms . . . ."[25a] This paper with its "pardon" was spurned by Opothleyahola. Immediately, bitter feeling between the Creek

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25 This settlement of Kickapoos on the Canadian is mentioned in the article by Dr. A. M. Gibson on the great Peace Council in the Creek Nation, 1845, in this number of *The Chronicles*.

25a The original of this paper written by Albert Pike is on exhibit in the Museum of the Historical Society.

divisions heightened in the confusion that followed. Sometime after the middle of October, a pitched battle took place when a party of Confederate Creeks attacked the Union Creeks on the North Canadian, near Thlopthlocco.[26] It was this trouble that brought Colonel Cooper to Thlopthlocco on October 29, when he wrote his letter to Colonel Drew, in which he remarked: "It is exceedingly vexatious to be detained here by party feuds amongst the Creeks, but it is unavoidable, inasmuch as the Creeks would probably refuse to march northward and leave the matters unsettled at home."[27]

By November 15, Opothleyahola had moved north from his position at Big Pond, and was encamped north of the Red Fork in the hills through which a trail led almost due north to the Osage Crossing near Skiatooka's Place at the Big Bend of the Arkansas. The site of this camp is marked on the Cox Map as "Camp Gouge," and indicated by a flag placed at the edge of the encampment, at a distance of about eight or nine miles northwest of the mouth of the Red Fork. Opothleyahola's position was the advance followed by two large groups of his followers. One group from the southeast, mostly women and children with the old people and their Negro slaves, that had assembled from their tribal "towns" in the region of North Fork Town at Opotheleyahola's home near Brush Hill, was on its way northwest up the Deep Fork by November 5. The second group (Creeks, Seminoles, Delawares and Kickapoo) from the southwest set out at the same time from Arbeka communities, traveling north-

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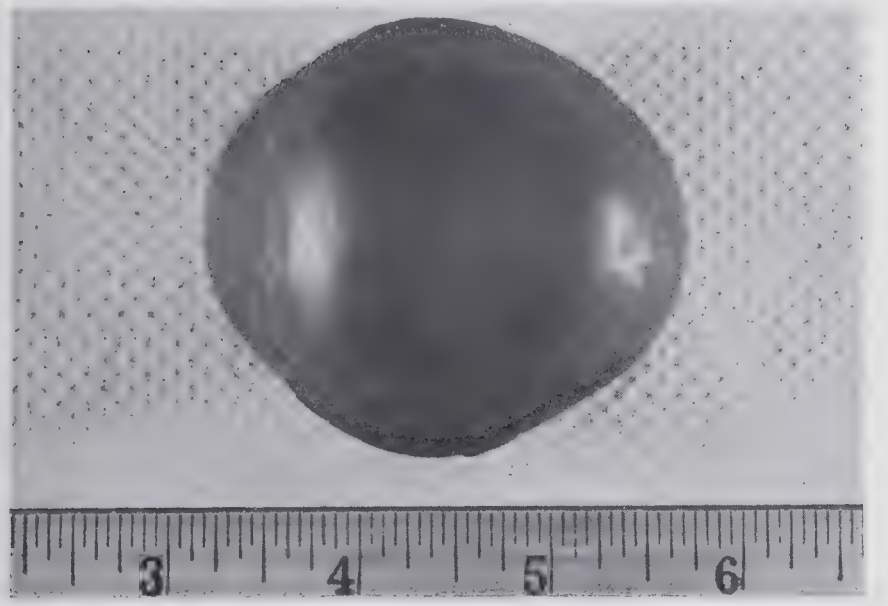
26 This fight near Thlopthlocco gave the name to present Battle Creek, a north branch of the North Canadian southeast of Okemah, in Okfuskee County. James Gregory mentions the fight in his interesting account and valuable source of Civil War history on the Creek Nation, in 1901. James Roane Gregory, a mixed blood citizen of the Creek Nation (part Yuchi) was born January 16, 1842, near Coweta on the Arkansas River. His home was one mile south of present Bristow in 1861. He had been with some Cherokee boys driving a drove of cattle over to Alberty's place on Pryor Creek, and had met his father at Concharty on his way home when both were arrested by some Creek Confederates just before the Battle of the Red Fork. His father (age 66 years) soon died from excessive exposure to cold. Both father and son had not taken sides in the War just begun but were trying to protect their property. Later, James R. Gregory joined the Ninth Kansas Cavalry. He had attended the "Koweta Mission School", and in later years after the Civil War he served as Judge of Coweta District, Creek Nation, and also served several terms as Superintendent of Schools. He lived at Inola (present Rogers County) in 1901, when he wrote a reminiscent account on "Creeks in the Civil War," which appeared in the *Galveston News,* November 27, 1901. A photostat of Judge Gregory's account is in the Civil War File 1861. See *Appendix B* for letter of Chief John Ross on the "Creek feuds" in October, 1861.

27 This remark has reference to the Confederate Creeks whom Cooper planned to organize with his forces in the campaign against Opothleyahola. (Cooper's letter of October 29 has been previously cited.)



Minie Ball excavated in the summer of 1961, during construction work in relocating State Highway 51, about four miles southwest of Keystone. The photograph was taken beside a twelve-inch ruler to indicate the size of the ball which weighs approximately 1¼ pounds.

The Minie ball shown above is a cannon ball fired from a prairie cannon that was used by troops in the Civil War. This ball was found by Lloyd Housley, Civil Engineer with the Keystone Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, about four miles southwest of Keystone on the west side of Salt Creek in Section 15, T. 19 N., R. 9 E. Mr. Housley picked up the object when excavation was being done for the new bridge across Salt Creek, in relocating State Highway 51. The Minie ball was unearthed not far beneath the surface of the ground, about seventy-five yards north, slightly to the west and on the west side of the creek, on top of a bluff covered with scrub oak. The highway runs about twenty-five yards north of the bridge, the creek running north and south at this location. The bluff here forms a natural ambuscade on the creek below, and is a fine vantage point overlooking the area to the southwest for anyone approaching. Mr. Housley gave this Minie ball to Mrs. Fannie B. Misch, of Tulsa, who has supplied the above photograph and these notes to the Editorial Department as an exhibit for this study of Colonel D. H. Cooper's Report on the Battle of Round Mountain.

The location on Salt Creek four miles southwest of Keystone where this Civil War relic or Minie ball was found fits in with this writer's reesarch data on Captain Young's skirmish with the Union Creeks the morning of November 19, 1861. This fight is described by Young along a creek (Salt Creek) for several hundred yards. Young says: "We had only 80 men in the squadron, while the enemy had 400 or 500 fighting us with all the advantages of the creek on us and a complete ambuscade to protect them." According to Thomas Meagher's notes from Artusse Yahola, the first fighting at Round Mountain was with Little Captain's Yuchi band, other bands of the Union Creeks joining in later. Apparently, the skirmish in the morning was to the west and northwest of Round Mountain, along Salt Creek, and the Minie ball discovered in 1961 on this creek offers some evidence of Young's skirmish a century ago.

east toward Long Tiger Town on the Little Deep Fork. As the last of the two groups passed this place, a large party of Yuchi joined them marching up the old Dawson Road toward the crossing on the Arkansas.

The Cox Map shows a detail indicating a division of the march, south of the present site of Keystone: At or near Round Mountain, Opothleyahola and most of his warriors had followed a trail west of Round Mountain leading across Salt Creek and through the prairie to the crossing of the Red Fork, near present Mannford. The rest of the Creeks kept on the road that passed through the prairie east of Round Mountain, surging into the Red Fork Settlement. It took nearly a week for them to make the crossing of the Arkansas just below the mouth of the Red Fork. There must have been flat boats here, built and operated by the Negroes to help the people cross the river. The late Thomas Meagher reported information from Artusse Yohola (aged eighty-nine—a son of Opothleyahola) that there were 300 wagons loaded with supplies, in the Creek train—a limited number of wagons considering the more than 3,500 persons on the march.[28] A few of the people rode in wagons, some rode their ponies but the great majority walked. The last parties, mostly the Yuchi, waiting to cross the Arkansas were camped along the road from the present site of Keystone to Round Mountain the night of November 18.

On the morning of November 19, the Confederate troops had marched a few miles from their camp on Rock Creek to a fork in their trail ahead where Cooper sent out a detachment of Texas troops in command of Captain Brinson to follow the road passing to the east of Round Mountain. Cooper himself with his main troops and the wagons kept to the trail on the west side of Round Mountain.[29] According to Thomas Meagher's informant a battle was fought on the south side of Round Mountain, between Cooper's forces and the Union Creeks. Among the

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[28] Thomas Meagher was a veteran of the Spanish American War and one-time civil engineer, who was well known as a local historian and writer in Tulsa for many years. Some of his material including several original maps of old localities in the Creek Nation are among the finest documents in the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society. In 1939, his story appeared in the *Tulsa Tribune* (November 19, 1939), in which he would prove the site of Cooper's first battle against the Union Creeks at Round Mountain. Meagher had spent much time interviewing some of the old Creeks and Yuchis who had been with their families at the time of the battle with the Confederates in November, 1861. Artusse Yahola was ten years old at this time. Meagher describes the march of the Creeks given by these informants.

[29] These conclusions of the writer are based on the Cox Map, Chief Sands' report in 1865, Gregory's account in 1901, as well as personal interviews with old-time Indians and settlers in the Tulsa region.

latter was a band of 110 Yuchi warriors led by Little Captain, or "Keptene Uchee," with the last parties on their march to the crossing of the Arkansas.[30] This fight seems to be the skirmish described in Captain Young's second letter (q.v) attached to the Cooper Report. Another skirmish has been reported as a battle on the site of Keystone, south of the Cimarron, from information given by William Bruner and Elizabeth Sapulpa in 1951. Chief Sam Brown, (Jr.) of the Yuchi referred to the site of this same battle fought at the "round end of the mountain," the wooded hill on the east side of present Keystone. Brown gave the Creek name of this hill as "Ekvn-hvwuce."[31] To the Indian people who were in the crowd waiting to cross the Arkansas near here, the fight was a real battle. This, of course, was another of the Confederate skirmishes on November 19, doubtless that of Captain Brinson's Texas troops. There were probably other skirmishes in the rough countryside south of Keystone that day.

The second paragraph of Cooper's Report states that on the 19th of November "some of the disaffected party were seen and a few prisoners taken." This briefs the day's troop movements and indicates the skirmishing before crossing the Red Fork, for certainly prisoners were not taken without a struggle. Cooper further states that these prisoners gave the information (translated, of course, from the Creek and very likely Yuchi) "that a portion of Hopoithleyohola's party were near the Red Fork of the Arkansas River, on their route to Walnut Creek, where a fort was being erected, and which had for some time been their intended destination in the event of not receiving promised aid from Kansas before being menaced or attacked." The phrase "on their route to Walnut Creek" is parenthetical. Cooper's statement here should read that a portion of the Union Indians was "near the Red Fork of the Arkansas River . . . where a fort is being erected." This corroborates the location of old Fort Arbuckle and its rebuilding (by the Negroes under

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30 Little Captain (Keptene Uchee) is given as "Jon neh," Captain of Company K, Second Indian Homeguard Regiment, Union Army, in the photostatic copy of the Indian Homeguard Regiment lists from the War Department seen in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. There were eighty-seven members in Captain Jon neh's Company K, and all were Yuchi. One of the few English names appearing in the list is that of Sam Brown, later chief of the Yuchi and father of Chief Sam Brown (Jr.). For biographical notes on Chief Sam Brown (Jr., see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Yuchi, Children of the Sun," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVII; and Orpha Russell, "Notes on Samuel Brown, Jr., Yuchi Chief."—*Ibid.*)

31 Depositions of William Bruner and Elizabeth Sapulpa, as well as Chief Sam Brown's statement appear in Orpha Russell's article "Ekvn-hvlwuce" in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951-52), pp. 401-407.

Opothleyahola's orders) as well as the four caves or dugouts in the sand banks of the deep gulch near the old post ground, reported by William Bruner and Elizabeth Sapulpa, whose relatives were among the Union Creeks. Cooper's mention of *Walnut Creek* in connection with the fort bears out another point in relation to the location or appointed rendezvous of the Union Creeks at this time. The nearly 3,500 Indians who crossed the Arkansas below the mouth of the Red Fork during the week before the battle, did not all go to Fort Arbuckle. Some of them followed the trail leading up the north side of the Arkansas toward Skiatooka's place until they came to the small creek on their right, in the midst of fine walnut timber. This was their appointed meeting place—*Walnut Creek.* The place fitted the ancient mores of the people that bore the name "Creek," whose "towns", trails, trading houses and even battles had been along the creeks and streams of the South for 400 years in their history.

The detail on the Cox Map showing two crossings of the Red Fork, the one east in the vicinity of present Keystone and the other west, near present Mannford points the way to the final "short but sharp conflict" north of the river. Captain Brinson in command of the Second Squadron of seventy men from Quayle's Texas Cavalry Regiment crossed the Red Fork at the east crossing, and soon afterward, about four o'clock in the afternoon, pushed rapidly forward and charged a deserted camp near which the enemy's scouts had been seen. A mile or more beyond the camp, other scouts were seen. These were followed four miles to a creek, upon which Opothleyahola's encampment was found the next day. (The Indian scouts were a decoy leading the Texans west away from Camp Arbuckle and other Creek camps. The road was up from the old U.S. Crossing on the Arkansas.) While the Texans were hunting the scouts in the woods in the vicinity of the creek, suddenly a large force of the enemy appeared. The Texans succeeded in making a stand for a short time but were finally outflanked and enclosed and had to retreat. They fell back about 2½ miles toward Cooper's command under heavy retreating fire. It was now dark.

Cooper with his command had crossed the Red Fork about dusk, near present Mannford. The firing was heard ahead and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment formed and advanced toward the enemy. A company of Chickasaws was in the rear under the command of Captain R. A. Young. It was now very dark, and difficult to make out the position of the Texans ahead. Brisk gun fire was opened, and "after a short but sharp conflict the firing of the enemy ceased, and under cover of darkness he made good his retreat." Cooper states here that General R. W. Lee with about fifty Choctaws and Texans examined the ravine

Ke-Ko-Garney, Yuchi "Fire Chief," a medecine keeper in 1870's.

Left to right: William G. Bruner, of the Creek Nation, and Samuel W. Brown, Chief of the Yuchi. (Photo, 1951)

"Ekvn-hvlwuce," the "Round End of the Mountain" at Keystone.

in front. They found that the enemy had retreated toward their camps. The battle had ended in the darkness.

Captain Young states in his first letter attached to the Report that his company had loaded and fired the third time and silenced the enemy's guns. He continues: "The prairie was on fire on my right, and as we advanced to the attack I could see very distinctly the enemy passing the fire, and I supposed a large body of men (200 or 300), but they were about 300 yards from me and the prairie was burning very rapidly, and I may have taken the motion of the grass for men."

Another report on the battle is found in the account of June Peak. He was seventeen years old, and was with Cooper's wagon train. He says that Opothleyahola's scouts kept him informed on the Confederate movements, and the Creek warriors came up. The story continues:[32]

> We met one morning in October [November], at Round Mountain. The day was spent in skirmishing, without any losses or advantage to speak of on either side. We went into camp for the night on a level prairie, covered with sedge grass waist high, beginning to dry considerably. Making a corral of our wagons, we placed our stock within it.
>
> We retired with the understanding that the battle would begin early in the morning. It was a serene night. At 1 o'clock we all of one accord leaped to our feet. The prairie was on fire in hundreds of places around us, and a fierce wind which had sprung up was carrying wisps of blazing grass hundreds of yards and starting new fires. The weird beauty of the landscape revealed by the widespreading conflagration was perhaps not wholly lost on even the most fearful of our panic stricken train. Our poor mules gave vent to their distress in sounds that seemed to be compounded of bray, bellow and squeal. In our efforts to save our wagons and teams we had no liesure to return the fire of the enemy who were raining bullets and arrows into our confused rout.
>
> We abandoned the whole of our provisions, and left in our wake a dozen or so wagons, scores of mules, and fifteen or twenty dead and wounded men. Fortunately for us, Opothyola did not follow up his advantage. We were more than two hours getting out of the fire . . . .

A detachment of Confederate troops early the next morning (November 20), found Opotheleyahola's main camp abandoned. The Report states that on the camp ground were "the chief's

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[32] *The Dallas Morning News* for July 1, 1923, carried a story by W. S. Adair, "Civil War Repeated in the Indian Territory," in which Captain June Peak gave his reminiscences on the Battle of Round Mountain. Peak's story has always seemed full of errors until this study of Cooper's Report. New data and much research on the subject of the Battle of Round Mountain show Peak's account remarkably accurate and a valuable contribution to history. For his full story told in *The Dallas Morning News,* see the copy in *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* by Thoburn and Wright (New York, 1929), Vol. II, Appendix XXVI-2, p. 836.

buggy, 12 wagons, flour, sugar, coffee, salt, &c., besides many cattle and ponies."[33] The location of this camp ground as shown on the Cox Map determines the general site of the last gun fire in the "Engagement at Round Mountain."

The Battle of Round Mountain: Its Site and Name

Not long after the Civil War, J. C. Byers came into the Big Bend country of the Cherokee Outlet, and was a well known citizen of Cleveland at the time of his death in recent years. He was an intelligent man, interested in history and highly respected in his community. In talking with friends, he said that in 1876 he discovered old wagon rims and hubs and pieces of rusted iron lying around on a site near Cowskin Creek, on the north side of a high hill in Section 13, Township 20 North, Range 8 East. Mr. Byers always felt sure that this site was on or near the battlefield of the Civil War Battle of Round Mountain.

A meeting of the Payne County Historical Society was held at Stillwater on March 6, 1949, which was attended by Dr. James H. Gardner of Tulsa and Mr. Ola J. Rogers, longtime resident of Cleveland and an old friend of Mr. Byers. Dr. Angie Debo in her article on the Battle of Round Mountain (*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 1949) states that Mr. Rogers "presented the first evidence of the Keystone site" during the panel discussion at the meeting of the Payne County Society. Dr. Debo further states in her article:

> There are numerous "Round Mountains" and creeks in the vicinity of Keystone. Here Mr. Rogers' location is based on the testimony of the late J. C. Byers, who came to the present Osage County in the early 1870's, and who always showed a keen and intelligent interest in local history. In 1876, he said, he found remains of wagons near the high round hill in Section 13, Township 20 North, Range 8 East, and believed it to be the battlefield. Another hill in the vicinity could account for the plural—"Round Mountains"—and a creek fits Cooper's description of the terrain. The location—three miles north and six miles west of Keystone, and northwest of the great loop of the Cimarron —is far enough up the river to account for the failure of contemporary writers to mention the mouth, and yet close enough to harmonize with the Cox map.
>
> One cannot disregard Byers' testimony simply because it stands alone. . . .

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[33] The writer of this study thinks that "the chief's buggy" mentioned here did not belong to Opothleyahola. He has been described by those who knew him in the summer and fall of 1861 as a man of vigor and fine physique. He was truly the "man on horseback" as he rode back and forth across the Creek Nation, directing his forces. The writer further is inclined to believe that this buggy has a place in the story of the large amount of gold that Opotheleyahola had with him and buried somewhere about the time of the Battle of Round Mountain. As a matter of fact, he sent word to Agent Carruth that his money had been stolen from him. The story of Opothleyahola's gold is too long to relate here.

The Creeks fired the woods and the edge of the prairie north of the Red Fork during the battle. The band of warriors assigned this action hurried south, crossed the river, and fired the grass to the south. They headed for Cooper's encampment, and made their attack just as the fire reached there about midnight. The timing for all this is almost perfect for a squad afoot with the work in hand. Peak gives the facts impressed upon him as a boy of seventeen, and his description of the scene at the encampment is fine. The tradition of the fight in the prairie is still told around Mannford, some thinking that this was the real Civil War battle where Cooper's Confederates fought the Union Creeks.[34] It should be added here that it was the prairie fire that ruined Cooper's forces in their first fight against Opothleyahola. Both sides claimed the victory at Round Mountain but the weight of evidence is in favor of the Creeks.

The name of the battle, *Round Mountain*, came from the high, round hill six miles south of Keystone. It was here the first skirmish on November 19, 1861, took place between Cooper's rear guard—Young's Company of Chickasaws—and Little Captain's 110 warriors. Cooper's wagon train could see the high round hill all day on the way as it traveled slowly northwest toward the Red Fork near present Mannford. Brinson's Squadron of seventy Texans set off as a detachment of Colonel William Quayle's Texas Regiment on its detour to the Red Fork crossing at present Keystone and pushing northwest after Opothleyahola's scouts that wound up at Section 13 Hill where the battle began late in the evening of November 19.

Round Mountain was a landmark on the Big Osage War and Hunting Trail from very early days. Dawson in 1934 set one of his markers on top of this high hill. The Creeks called it "Cun-hul-wu-chee" meaning a "low round hill" or "hillock." This term was translated as "Little Mountain" by Artussee Yahola to distinguish the elevation from the higher, rugged hill to its south.

A young Texan who signed his name "Thornton" or "TBM" was in the battle with Cooper's command at the Red Fork when it had a "short but sharp conflict" near Section 13 Hill after dark, on November 19. He was a stranger in the Red Fork region, and heard the name "Round Mountain" the day of the battle. He wrote a letter from Choska on December 23, 1861, to his mother, saying:[35]

But as we leave this place tomorrow for the purpose of making "finis" of Opothleyoholo's army, I came to the conclusion to write

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[34] Information given the writer by Mr. Robert H. Dott of Tulsa.

[35] Copy of letter in Civil War File 1861.

tonight. Opothleyoholo is a Creek who has for many years been seeking to become a chieftain, but heretofore, his adherents being in the minority, his intrigueing has been of but little moment: the Act of Secession served him as a basis upon which he has striven to consumate his long cherished hopes: and by misrepresentations he has induced the most ignorant of his tribe as well as a few of the Cherokees to form an alliance with the Lincoln Government. The (Opothleyoholo, or Gouge) has had about four or five thousand warriors; but since suffering two defeats his forces are now reported to be rapidly diminishing. The first battle was fought at Round Mountain, about five miles North of the Red Fork of the Ark.

The *Exodus Statement* gives this account of the battle:

. . . the Confederate forces moved up Deep Fork to the supposed Camp of Ho-poith-lo-yo-hola, but found it deserted and a large trail leading in a Northwestern direction toward the Red Fork of Arkansas, apparently a week or more old.

This trail was followed, and finally on the 19th day of November 1861, Ho-poith-lo-yo-hola's camp was discovered a few miles North of Red Fork near a place called "Round Mountains" in the Cherokee Country. Here a Company of Texans, without orders, rode after dark into Ho-poith-lo-yo-hola's camp, and were driven out by his men and followed to Colonel Cooper's camp, with the lo*f*s of their captain, and several others killed, several wounded and taken prisoners. The hostile Creeks and Seminoles were there repulsed and made their escape under cover of darkness.

The term "Round Mountains" in this statement has always been a matter of notice in the research for this study. The late Dean Trickett, Civil War historian of Tulsa, called attention to the fact that the term appearing in the Statement plainly is first written "Round Mountain" and the "s" is added as an afterthought. The writer and his associates who made the Exodus Statement in 1868 had recalled, after setting down the term on the paper, the many round hills in the vicinity of the one where the battle was fought. This is true. Today, one can stand on the abandoned site of the old "Scrapping Ridge School" of the 1890's, and look toward the south where the high hill stands with its bald top in Section 13, less than a mile away. Off to the southwest, several round, bald hills are a remarkable sight.

Gregory makes this statement in his reminiscent account on the "Creeks in the Civil War":[36]

"One body of the Union Creeks was camped on the Arkansas River near the old Skiatook place (then in the Cherokee Nation but now in the Osage Nation) and the other on the North Fork River, above mentioned. Gen. Cooper proceeded with his forces to attack the Creek

[36] It seems Cooper's command crossed the Red Fork near present Mannford about six o'clock in the evening, November 19, and bivouaced for the night, a little over a mile north of the river. Captain Young in his first letter attached to the Report states, "On the 19th instant, a little after nightfall, we were ordered to saddle up and mount our horses, and the order was given to march."

camp on the North Fork River. The Union Creeks, under the command of Chief Opothleyahola, marched in one-fourth circle around the right flank of Cooper's army to the northeast, attempting to form a junction with the Union Creeks on the Arkansas River. Before the junction was affected Gen. Cooper's army overtook this faction of the Union Creeks, crossing the Cimarron River just at dusk. A battle ensued, which was fought after darkness had set in. After stopping the advance of the Confederates, the Union Creeks proceeded on the same night to form the junction which they had in contemplation on the outset, and which they accomplished the following day. Gen. Cooper did not follow the Union Creeks the next day, but retired toward Choska to wait reinforcement."

Opothleyohola's warriors ceased their gun fire in the darkness during the battle waging in the vicinity of their camp at Section 13 Hill, and left the Confederates in the midst of a roaring, prairie fire. The warriors immediately went northward, possibly eight miles, crossed the Arkansas and traveled downstream to their point of union on the little creek now known as Walnut Creek. Some of them made it here the same night of the battle, and all came in the next day.

Cooper's troops left the Red Fork the day after the battle, arriving at his Concharty headquarters and wagon train camp on November 24. They had been practically without provisions on their march—many of them on foot—back to the Choska crossing on the Arkansas and Concharty in the vicinity.

The Case of the Twin Mounds Battle

The Shawnee Cattle Trail north to Kansas developed in the region of the Twin Mounds after the Civil War. It was a well traveled road for emigrant wagons and Indian tribal groups moving south as well as for herds of cattle driven north to markets in Kansas through a period of over thirty years after the War. An old battle site near the Twin Mounds became a favorite camping ground on this Trail. A cave near these Mounds was said to be the hiding place for early day outlaws. After the battle against the outlaws at Ingalls in 1894, some miles away in the same region of present Payne County, the legend of outlaw gold buried near the Twin Mounds developed. Some people said that an Indian whose name was something like "Opothyahola" had come in from Texas with a large amount of gold during the Civil War, and buried it here. Through all these stories, the site of an old battle at the Twin Mounds created interest, and tales about it and the buried gold nearby persisted. The Payne County Historical Society developed its theory that Cooper's Confederate forces fought the first Civil War battle against the Union Creeks in the Indian Territory on this old battlefield at the Twin Mounds. This theory has been supported by the discovery of camp debris on this site—broken chinaware, iron stove lids, pieces of iron, powder flasks, etc.

Evidently, history and legend about the Twin Mounds had aroused discussion among early day settlers in 1897. The writer in searching the old newspaper files in the Historical Society a few years ago came across an item about the Twin Mounds battle, appearing in *The Cushing Herald* (Weekly) published at Cushing, Oklahoma Territory, on Friday, June 11, 1897. This piece apparently was written by W. J. Rendall, Editor, and appears on the editorial page (page 2), in the column "Territorial Squibs":[37]

> The battle of the Twin Mounds, Payne county, fought near the close of the war between Texas Rangers and some northern men, when about thirty were killed and wounded, was not so much a skirmish between Unionists and Rebels as between certain Texas cattlemen who were trying to recapture their large number of steers that had been confiscated by a band of daredevils from somewhere up north. That battle put a stop to the occasional wholesale stealing of large herds of marketable beefs.

The proponents of the Twin Mounds site would change the name of the Battle of Round Mountain to "Battle of Round Mountains," basing this new name on the Exodus Statement and accounting for the plural of "mountain" for the two mounds in Payne County. This change in the name does not hold true. The term "round mountains" is certainly a misapplication in giving the description of the Twin Mounds. They are remarkable for their flat, mesa-like tops, and are almost identical in height and appearance. Furthermore, the Twin Mounds form a topographical feature that stands alone.

Walter R. Smith read a paper "Some Legends of Oklahoma", before the Oklahoma Education Association in 1926, published in *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Vol. 4, p. 53) in which the following story appears:

> Just west of the town of Jennings, Oklahoma, are a couple of low, rock strewn hills which bear a marked resemblance to each other. Around these centers a legend of buried treasure.
>
> With a cavalry escort a government paymaster on his way to Fort Sill camped for the night between these Twin Hills. Rumors of Indian troubles which had caused the escort to be sent along were confirmed when the camp was suddenly attacked that night by a band of Indians. A defense was hurriedly formed in the rocks on the hills and the party prepared to hold out until a messenger could break through and bring help. All efforts to slip by the Indians were unsuccessful and the diminishing party was forced to the decision that the only chance for anyone lay in a bold dash through the approaching circle of savages.
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> The money, $11,000 in gold, was hastily buried where it could be found by those who should escape, and then the dash for freedom

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[37] This item on the Twin Mounds Battle was copied by *The El Reno News* in its issue of June 25, 1897, p. 6, col. 3.

was made. Only five of the entire party succeeded in breaking through the net drawn about the camp, but when they returned with the party which came in pursuit of the Indians, they were unable to find a mark which revealed the location of the buried money. Appearances indicated that the money had not been discovered by the Indians, and it is said that it has never been found.

APPENDIX A

Brief Biographies of Douglas H. Cooper, Commander of the Indian Department, C.S.A., and Opothleyahola, leader of the "Loyal Creek" aligned with the Union.

Douglas H. Cooper, member of an old southern family and native of Mississippi, was early identified with the progressive interests of railroad building and development of the South. He fought in the Mexican War as an officer in the U. S. Army, and was identified with Jefferson Davis in the beginning of the State Rights movement. He was appointed Choctaw Agent in 1853, and was assigned the command of the Indian Department, C.S.A., in the field, under Gen. Ben McCulloch, in 1861. He was not a military man in the strict sense of the word but was one of great personal magnetism and a leader beloved by his men. He was held in high regard by the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws (acting as their Agent, also, before the War). He knew well the Choctaw and the Chickasaw country clear across present Oklahoma from Arkansas to the 100th Meridian but was unacquainted with the Indian country north of the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers before 1861. As an officer, he served loyally the Indian interests in the Confederate Army throughout the Civil War, and died at old Fort Washita, in the Chickasaw Nation, in 1878.—A biography of General Cooper, by Muriel H. Wright is found in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (Spring, 1953), pp. 143-184.

Opothleyahola, born about 1798, was a member of Tukabahchee Town, the leading center of the Upper Creek Division, so called because it was made up of the tribal groups living on the upper courses of the Chattahoochee River in Alabama and Georgia. The tribal groups living on the lower course of this river were known as the Lower Creek Division, of which Coweta was the leading tribal "town," with members of the McIntosh family (of Creek-Scot descent) serving as chief from time to time. Opothleyahola was never a chief but he early showed his great ability and powers as an orator in the Creek council meetings. Before the Treaty of Indian Springs, Georgia, in 1825, as the speaker for the Little Prince, Chief of the whole Creek Nation, he warned Chief Wm. McIntosh not to sign this treaty that would give up the Creek lands in Georgia. Soon afterward, Wm. McIntosh was killed for signing the treaty, over which bitter feeling developed between the two tribal divisions that as late as the time of the Civil War marked their alignment—the Upper Creeks generally siding with the Union, and the Lower, with the McIntoshes still as leaders, on the side of the Confederate States. Opothleyahola made his home after coming to the Indian Territory near Brush Hill, on the Deep Fork about six or eight miles southwest of present Checotah, in McIntosh County. He became wealthy as a Negro slaveholder in cattle raising and farming the river bottom lands. He was shrewd in partnership with trading interests, and it was in this that he was nicknamed "Gouge." He led the opposition in the great council at North Fork Town with Commissioner Albert Pike, and withdrew from the meeting a few days before the signing of the Confederate Treaty on July 10, 1861. A large

part of the Council also withdrew with Opothleyahola, representing one-third of the whole Creek Nation (population in 1861, counted at about 14,500). Both his friends and his enemies among the Creeks who attended this Council at North Fork Town long remembered Opothleyahola's impassioned oratory and his great personality in this meeting when he led the forces to hold the tide in favor of the old treaties with the United States. After the battles against the Union Creeks in 1861 and their final withdrawal from the Indian Territory, Opothleyahola remained in Kansas always active with Union officers, always seeking reunion and the organization of all his people in their home country, the Creek Nation. He died in 1863 at the age of 65 years, and was buried in a woodland burial ground on a hill, beside the grave of his daughter, near Belmont, Kansas.—For notes on the life of Opothleyahola see Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance,* (Norman, 1941); and Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1952).

APPENDIX B

Original letter of Chief John Ross, in Civil War File 1861,

Executive Department, C. N.
Park Hill, Oct. 20th, 1861.

To Col. John Drew
and Lt. Col. Wm. P. Rofs
Gentlemen—

I drop you this line in great haste and enclose you a Communication for the Chiefs of the Creek Nation, which you will peruse, to understand our views on the Subject of the Creek feuds! And which I desire should also be brought before the attention of Col. Cooper if he should be there in Command, in the absence of Genl. Pike.

I most sincerely regret the State of confusion and excitement growing out of the Creek affair, which might have been amicably adjusted, without all the trouble it has Created if a prudent and wise course had been pursued by the Creek Authorities — Our Northern & northwestern frontiers, should, by all means be guarded without delay — if it was, the danger of a Northern invasion and the movements of emmisaries would be cut off, and the existing Creek fueds would be more readily checked & silenced without a Conflict of arms between them — these remarks are called forth in consequence of the suspense and intense feeling of anxiety beginning to be manifested by our people on the subject, especially by the inhabitants of our frontier Districts — and I do hope that your duty at the Creek council may be speedily dispensed with, as the interests of our People and Governmental affairs requires your attention in our own Dear Country!

Yours very respectfully

Jno. Rofs, Prin'l. Chief.

AN INDIAN TERRITORY UNITED NATIONS:

The Creek Council of 1845

By A. M. Gibson

The decade of the 1840's was a particularly turbulent period in the Indian Territory. By 1840, most of the Indians comprising the Five Civilized Tribes—Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles—had been driven from their old homeland in the southeastern United States and forced to settle on new lands in the West, a vast domain extending from Missouri and Arkansas to the 100th meridian, and flanked north and south by the 37th parallel and Red River.

As if the pain of tearing loose deep cultural and emotional roots in their historic homeland and suffering needlessly by a Government sponsored "trail of tears" were not enough torment, each of these Indian nations had to face fresh trials in the new country. The surly Osage were reluctant to acknowledge Cherokee title to their historic hunting range along the Grand. Creek and Seminole settlers were intimidated by Pawnee raids on the Canadian, and Choctaw and Chickasaw settlements west of Boggy Depot were terrorized by Comanche and Kiowa marauders.

This new domain of the Five Civilized Tribes, juxtaposed between the Missouri and Arkansas settlements on the east and the wild plains tribes on the west, comprised a sort of corridor through which bands of fierce Kickapoo roamed at will, acknowledging fealty to no official United States Indian agency, and posing a constant threat to the peace and order of this middle border region. While the Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee immigrants suffered only slightly from the forays of these daring marauders, the Choctaw and Chickashaw settlements were constantly exposed to the fury of their assaults, the number of slain tribesmen, plundered plantations, and losses in slaves and livestock mounting each year from Kickapoo depredations.

Another problem vexing the Five Civilized Tribes during the early 1840's was Texas. This young republic (annexed by the United States in 1845), found shortly after independence from Mexico in 1836 that a large confederated Indian community existed in east Texas on the Angelina and Sabine. Headed by the Cherokee Chief Bowles, and containing besides Cherokees, bands of Creeks, Seminoles, Caddoes, and Kickapoo, these tribesmen had emigrated to east Texas before 1820 and had been promised a grant of land from the Spanish and later the Mexican Government. Coveting the choice lands these Indians occupied,

a Texan army in 1839 drove the confederated Indians from Texas north across the Red River. Strong resentment was harbored by these Indians, and certain tribesmen, notably the Kickapoo, avenged the expulsion by depredating into the Texas settlements. Texas citizen armies retaliated in kind by raiding north of the Red, their wrath generally falling on innocent Choctaw and Chickasaw communities.

Yet another disturbing influence was at work in the Indian Territory. This came from Mexico. Resentful of Texas independence, Mexico sought to reconquer the territory north of the Rio Grande and restore it to Mexican dominion. Besides launching several armed invasions from south of the Rio Grande, Mexico also busily created internal discord by keeping an army of agents at work among the Mexican settlements of Texas encouraging them to revolt. Some of these agents even ventured north across the Red into the Indian Territory where they worked among the tribes attempting to foment raids on Texas. While of all the tribes resident in the Indian Territory only the Kickapoo cooperated with the Mexican agents, the very presence of these operatives among the Indian nations was a disquieting influence.

These various threats to peace and order in the Indian Territory arrested its normal development by the remarkably advanced Five Civilized Tribes, and tribal leaders, Indian agents, and army commanders on the southwestern frontier spent much of their time attempting to bring this turbulence under control. Forts Gibson, Towson, Coffee, Wayne, and Washita were erected at strategic points in the Indian Territory. Manned by United States troops, these posts served as an operational base for military patrols assigned the duty of maintaining a surveillance over the Kickapoo and other sources of trouble for the Indian Territory. These, however, were at best only deterrents, for the hazards to peace persisted. Mexican agents continued their cabals among the Indian nations; Kickapoo raids on north Texas communities and the Choctaw and Chickasaw settlements continued; Texas counter-raids came about as regularly as before; the Kiowa-Comanche threat was as deadly as ever; and Pawnee horsethieves from the Platte continued to foray among the Creek-Seminole settlements on the Canadian.

Convinced that the expanded United States military protection was inadequate for quieting the turmoil which wracked the Indian Territory, desperate leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes took matters into their own hands. Each of the governments of these nations—the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminole—being peaceably disposed, their chiefs and councils sought to apply conciliation where coercion had generally failed. For this purpose, they called a series of Indian

congresses between 1838 and 1845. At each council, besides delegations from the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, representatives from the Kickapoo, Shawnee, Caddo, Wichita, Quapaw, Osage, Kiowa, Pawnee and various other outlander tribes generally attended. The purpose of each council was to promote better understanding among the native peoples of the southwestern frontier, produce peace, and discourage participation in the Mexican intrigues. The 1838 congress was sponsored by the Cherokees, the Creeks were host for the 1842 meeting, and the following year, the Indian delegates again gathered at the call of the Cherokees.

These first three Indian forums, responsible for reducing brigandage and general lawlessness and bringing at least a measure of peace to the Indian Territory, encouraged the leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes to continue the council fire as a substitute for the war path in settling inter-tribal differences. The Creeks, pre-eminent as peace makers on the frontier, called the fourth Indian congress in 1845, a meeting which proved to be the most important convocation of the series, and for that matter of any inter-tribal congress held in the Indian Territory before the Civil War. Not only was a permanent peace established between the Kickapoo and the harried Choctaw and Chickasaw, and the mission of the Mexican agents completely discredited by this council, but even more significant were the genuine expressions of Indian friendship and goodwill, the concern ventured by several delegates over the erasure of Indian culture, and the earnest appeals that tribal ways be preserved in the face of the disintegrating impact of Anglo culture. And there was inherent in the speeches of various tribal delegates a proposal for pan-Indian unity, a socio-economic fusion, based on the brotherhood of all red men, a proposition taken up by various leaders quite soon, notably Wildcat the Seminole during the early 1850's.

About the only disappointing feature of the Creek council of 1845 was the refusal of the Comanches to join this inter-tribal congress in its quest for peace. As matters finally worked out, however, the Comanche threat to Indian Territory calm diminished soon after this, the voracity of the bands of this tribe being diverted to the westward advancing Anglo settlements in Texas and the stream of California-bound immigrant trains which in less than four years coursed through the Comanche range. The Pawnee incursions into the domain of the Five Civilized Tribes were virtually eliminated too. The Creeks adopted Chief Pecan's Kickapoo band of 500. These spartan-like people were permitted to settle on the Canadian, their villages situated at strategic points to intercept Pawnee and other raiders, and as Creek mercenaries, Pecan's warriors brought peace to the western frontier of the Indian Territory.

WILLIAM P. ROSS
Principal Chief of Cherokee Nation, 1871-1875.

Reports on the proceedings of this Creek council of 1845 come from two sources. William Armstrong, head of the Western Superintendency with jurisdiction over the Indian Territory, planned to attend the council as a representative of the United States Government. The press of official business preventing his participation, Armstrong delegated Pierce M. Butler, Cherokee Agent, to represent him.[1] Butler's journal of the council, while furnishing a cryptic record of the proceedings, leaves many gaps. Fortunately these were filled in most respects by the editor of the *Cherokee Advocate,* William P. Ross,[2] who journeyed from Tahlequah to cover the council for his paper, and thus preserve much of the detail which Butler's journal all too often barely mentioned.

From these two sources, Butler's journal,[3] interpolated with Editor Ross' perceptive reporting, a startling view is presented of the Indian—startling in that he is cast not in the popular image of a bloodthirsty, *coup*-counting savage, but in

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1 Pierce Mason Butler (1798-1847), a South Carolinian, began his public service in 1818 when he was appointed lieutenant in the United States Army. Very early he became acquainted on the Indian Territory frontier, receiving an assignment at Fort Gibson soon after its establishment in 1824. Around 1829, Butler resigned from the army and returned to South Carolina where he became engaged in banking. The outbreak of the Seminole War in Florida brought Butler back into military service as a lieutenant colonel, and in 1838 he returned to South Carolina and was elected governor. At the end of his two year term, Butler returned to Fort Gibson to accept the appointment of Cherokee Agent, a post he held until 1846, when he resigned to accept a colonelcy in the Palmetto Regiment, a crack South Carolina unit being mustered for service in the Mexican War. During the summer of 1847, Butler was mortally wounded at the battle of Churusbusco. See "Pierce Mason Butler," *Dictionary of American Biography.* Allen Johnson, editor. (New York, 1929), Vol. III, p. 365. See also Carolyn Thomas Foreman. "Pierce Mason Butler," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952) pp. 6-28.

2 In the May 15, 1845 issue of his paper, Editor Ross apologized to his readers for the "barreness of our editorial columns," explaining this was due to his journey to the Creek Nation to cover the council proceedings. *Cherokee Advocate,* May 15, 1845. William Potter Ross (1820-1891), a nephew of Cherokee Principal Chief John Ross, and a Princeton graduate, was appointed the first editor of the *Cherokee Advocate,* created by an act of the Cherokee Council on October 25, 1843, as a successor to the famous *Cherokee Phoenix,* first paper of the nation and which was published at New Echota, Georgia beginning in 1828. William P. Ross was Lieut. Col., First Cherokee Mounted Rifles, Confederate States Army (1861), and served as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation for the periods 1866-1867 and 1872-1875.—John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief William Potter Ross." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XV, No. 1 (March, 1937), pp. 20-29.

3 Butler's journal is found in National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Western Superintendency, Letters Received File, Microcopy 234, Roll 923.

the role of a peace maker, searching with remarkable sophistication for a formula which "will sweep the red path white."

* * * *

Pierce M. Butler's Journal of the Creek Council Proceedings

Reached the Council Ground distant about 35 miles from Fort Gibson southwest;[4] found upon the ground the following tribes thus represented: Muskogees or Creeks—730, Choctaws—13, Shawnees—6, Osages—12, Piankashaws—1, Seminoles—47, Chickasaws—11, Delawares—1, Kickapoos—4. Had not yet commenced business—some local affairs of the Creeks had been transacted. General Mackintosh,[5] the Creek chief, evinced and expressed much impatience, dissatisfaction, and mortification that his red brethren had not responded to his call, particularly the Cherokees, as he said they held the "wampum"[6] by which the tradition of their forefathers could be properly interpreted. That the object was to make peace and repair damages that had lately been created by the spilling of blood upon the prairie. Easy to correct it now but difficult if permitted to go on. Wanted the Cherokees to help. Had sent the "broken days"[7] to all their brothers in reach. The Comanches known among the Indians as Pah-to-ras had refused the invitation and permitted their messengers to return only with their lives. The Creeks sent six messengers or runners representing six towns in the nation. One of these messengers sent from Opothle Yahola's[8] town, Echo Hajo, is strongly suspected of having played a treacherous part. He was the only one that could speak their language. All agree that the Comanches refused the invitation and that they were in a ring to be killed, but the cause is not so clearly agreed upon.

After camping all night with the Comanches, they were next

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[4] On the Deep Fork River near present site of Eufaula.

[5] Roley McIntosh. For a biography of Roley McIntosh, see John B. Meserve, "The MacIntoshes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932) pp. 318-320.

[6] Strings of shell-beads used among the various tribes, in earlier times as a medium of exchange, and throughout tribal history to communicate tribal traditions, war, peace, and other conditions. White representing peace, black indicating hostility, and white strings tinged red with vermilion a challenge to war or a declaration of war. Frederick W. Hodge (ed.) *Handbook of the American Indian.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30 (Washington, 1912), Vol. II, p. 907.

[7] Rudimentary calendar system for calculating number of days until a designated event.

[8] Creek leader, prominent in the removal period, signer of the Creek removal treaties, and leader of the Union Indians during the Civil War. (His tribal "town" was Tukabahchee on the Canadian River, about 10 air-line miles southwest of present Eufaula, in McIntosh County.—Ed.)

morning told to depart. Progressed ten miles, stopped to kill buffalo, horses straggled back to the Comanches, followed by four of the party, remained so long, Echo Hajo, who had remained, followed, found them (his four associates) in a ring, proposed to be shot, and an old Comanche woman begging for their lives—Echo Hajo was told to walk in and share the same fate, succeeding in buying off, and thus returned to the Creek nation, giving up all their effects, clothing, travelling equipage, etc. The impression of the other messenger (a chief) is that this Echo Hajo, who is a suspicious character, has been absent among these wild Indians for some time, and who accompanied Flores,[9] the Mexican emissary, is that he told the Comanches the object of the Creek Council, or convention, was to form a league and to go out and destroy the Osages and all the other prairie Indians. This is concluded by most of the leading men in the Creek nation. The Comanches gave as a reason for not attending that the invitation had "two tongues" and that the source was foul. For then that they had an agreement with the Osages and other prairie Indians to meet "this moon" at the Great Salt Plains, that the buffalo had got too far from them by smelling the cattle, hogs, etc., of the Creeks and others upon the border, that they got too hungry before they could reach them.

May 13th. Six Quapaws arrive and three Peorias. The interpreter of the Quapaws stated his belief that none of the other tribes north of him would attend—as they had not received the "talk"—message, had miscarried or he would be sure they would attend. He had got his by accident after he left on other business. The Choctaw delegation wrote a letter to the Creeks signifying a determination to return home the 15th. The tribes present assembled and proceeded to business. Osages were asked if they had an engagement to meet the Comanches at the Salt Plains. The question produced confusion, consulting among themselves, surprise, evident at the inquiry, answered "did not know of an agreement, had last summer received an invitation, "broken days" sticks painted red, the same token sent to fifteen tribes besides themselves, did not know why the Creeks and their other brethren had not been invited.

This was spoken in an audible and animated voice and manner by the head (Osage) chief, Bellzer [Shin-gah-was-sah]. Black Dog, another chief, spoke to the effect that the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws did not know what he knew, but that the Comanches said as soon as the grass got about so high (about one foot), the Creeks should hear from them.

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[9] Manuel Flores, Mexican agent active among the Mexican settlements of Texas and the tribes of the Indian Territory, who conspired to organize a resistance movement against the Texas Republic.

Tribes invited to meet at the Salt Plains, Comanches—5 branches, Kiowas—1 band, Wichitas—1 band, Tawakonies—1 band, Caddos — 1 band, Wacos — 1 band, Keechies — 1 band, Osages—5 bands Cheyennes—1 band, Otoes—1 band. The others are suppose to be branches of the numerous Comanche family. Note—in a private interview with Black Dog, he informed me, the object of the meeting at the Salt Plains was to adopt measures to operate against their common enemies—the Pawnee Mohaws—and that the Creeks were to be invited to attend afterward and join. My own impressions are that the Osages are ready to act with either party that will go for plunder and that the object of the meeting at the Salt Plains is first to revenge the blood spilled last winter on the prairie upon some of their people, and secondly to form a league of all those that live in common exclusively upon the chase, and to kill upon the prairie, without regard to color, when they can find small bodies together, but not to approach into the settlements. They are not organized or disciplined. If not prevented or disturbed, may venture in small parties to steal horses.

The effect of this information was apparent upon the Creeks more particularly the disturbance upon their frontiers to break up the settlements and prevent their people from making crops. To the others present, it was received with utter indifference.

* * * *

The Indian Council[10]

We have heretofore noticed the Council of the neighboring tribes called by the Creeks and their meeting at the Creek Council Ground. On Thursday evening last we arrived there and found a tolerable large assemblage of Indians, composed principally of Creeks.

But few of the tribes were able to get in at the appointed time. Before the Council broke up the following representations were present: Muscogees or Creeks—730, Seminoles—52, Choctaws—13, Chickasaws—11, Shawnees—6, Delawares—1, Pankeshaws—1, Osages—12, Kickapoos—4, Quapaws—6, Peorias—3, Caddoes—8.

Other representations would doubtless have attended, had "word" reached the different tribes in due season. It was a source of great regret that no more responded to the call, particularly that the Cherokees did not. The last circumstances we also regret very much, but learn that it arose from the fact of the Assistant Principal Chief, in the absence of the Principal, not having been notified in due time. But by no means from any indifference on the part of this people, to whatever relates to the peace and prosperity of the whole Indian population.

During the Council, the pipe of peace was smoked, the white paths cleared, the Council fire lighted afresh, and several speeches of interest delivered by the heads of the different representations present, which shall next week appear in the *Advocate*.

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10 *Cherokee Advocate*, May 22, 1845.

The nights were enlivened by the "Terrapin Shell dance" of the Muscogees, and the songs, drums, reeds and saltations (jumping and leaping) of the Osages.

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14th May. Arrived eight Caddoes. Met in council. Smoke, embrace (their habit of salutation), exchange friendly greetings, speeches from each in detail. Tuckabatcheemicco,[11] the war chief of the Muskogees, detailed as the speaker *by order* of his tribe. By authority made a long though tedious talk, often eloquent. (I have taken all the talk of each in detail). In effect, "We men once living in the East have now built a council fire in the West. We are all of one common parentage. Must not spill each other's blood. The "Great Spirit" placed us here, when it is his pleasure to remove us, must go, but should not destroy one another. These white beads seem small and unimportant. They are to us everything. Our creed, our faith. The mode of perpetuating the customs and traditions of our forefathers. As our children grow up we train them in the same old customs. Cherish and love them. The principal object of this council is peace. To clean the white path and cover up blood that has been spilled. And to learn who did it. We learn it is the "Pawnee Mohaws." The war weapons have been taken out of our warriors' hand and those for making food for our women and children placed in their stead. We will send our chiefs and messengers and emblems of peace on the path to clean it out. War we deprecate, but if bad men will stand in the wayside and spill blood—After ringing the bells of peace, by our chiefs, we must send our warriors in front to clear the path.

* * * *

Tuckabatchemicco's Talk[12]

Brothers—I rise up this day to give a small talk. The talk I am going to deliver, will be around the Council Fire of the Muscogees, with a bright sky above.

The white beads which I hold in my hand, I am going to send to our Grand Father, the Delaware. In the time of our Forefathers, he sent to us a talk and some beads, saying: Your ears are stopped, and your eyes have dust in them—receive these emblems, they will open your ears, and wipe out the dust from your eyes. These were the words we once received from the Delawares, the intention of which was to open the White path of peace, that we might train up our children in it.

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11 Chief of a pre-removal grouping called Upper Creeks. His following, once located in the Indian Territory, was organized into the Canadian District, near the mouth of the Canadian River. The Lower Creeks, headed by Roley McIntosh, were organized into the Arkansas District, north of the Arkansas in the region of present Coweta, Wagoner County.

12 *Cherokee Advocate,* June 19, 1845.

I am now tracing up the old customs of our Fathers, and what I am saying is understood by all of our old people present. I also speak in the presence of Gov. Butler, and Col. Logan, Agents for the Cherokees and Creeks, and Lieutenant Flint, of the United States army.[13] This talk is given that those who are not present may hear it also. As we have lately had some difficulty with some of our red brethren, we now send these beads to our Grand Father, the Delaware, that the White path so lately stained with blood may be cleaned, and that some plan may be fallen upon for the preservation of peace, and to prevent the further shedding of the blood of any of our brethren. The persons who were killed, from what I can learn, were of the tribe called the Pawnee Mahas—a tribe that but few of us have ever seen.

Brothers—We have travelled a long way from the course of the rising sun. Before coming to the land we now inhabit, we heard a great deal about our brethren who dwelt far towards the setting sun. Since arriving and kindling here our new fires, we have had the pleasure to see some of our western brethren, and have taken great interest in explaining to them the ways of our Forefathers. In former times, our fathers knew nothing of the emblems I hold in my hands, as in those days there was nothing but war and bloodshed among the people. But since the adoption of these emblems, and the use of them for making peace between different tribes, becoming a custom among the Red people, they have proved of great benefit, and form the ground work of training our children in the path of peace. The white beads and tobacco, which I send to the different tribes, are to cleanse the path which has lately been stained with blood; and I wish all those who hear this talk, to take it home with them, and to tell it to their children and grand children, and to advise them to walk in the straight path of peace. It is given around the Great Council Fire, and must not be forgotten as long as the sun rises and sets—or the waters run and the trees grow. I will send this talk . . . to our Grand Father, the Delaware, with the request that he will send it with some beads and tobacco, to the Pawnee Mahas, and say to them that the path that leads to their country is grown up—when they receive them the path will be opened, and purified of the stain of blood. No more blood must be spilt. I will also send word to them, that hereafter when travelling the path, should they happen to see blood or bones, they must think that they have been caused by lightning, a fall from a horse, or through some accident. The red people, like other populous nations, have among them some bad people, who will, probably, stain the path by spilling blood. Should any do so we feel that it will be our duty to rise up with our arms, and joining our friends, put a stop to it.

I send also some tobacco and beads to our Grand Father, the Delaware,[14] with a request that he will send them and this talk to the Shawnees, Wyandotts and Kickapoos. I am done.

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[13] Colonel James Logan of Arkansas, famous as an Indian linguist, and at the time of this council held the post of Creek Agent. Lieut. Franklin F. Flint, West Point Graduate, Class of 1841, was stationed at Fort Gibson, and attended the council as a representative of the United States Army.

[14] According to Hodge, the Delaware "by virtue of admitted priority of political rank of occupying the central home territory, from which most of the cognate tribes had diverged . . . were accorded by all the Algonquian tribes the respectful title of 'grandfather,' a recognition accorded by courtesy also by the Huron," and various other tribes.

Ceremonies continued of talking, smoking, and delivering emblems (tobacco and beads) of renewed peace and friendship. Great calmness, patience, and gravity prevailed, no spirits or appearance of intemperance. The Choctaws agreed to wait another day.

16th May. Arrived Mickenopa, and Wild Cat,[15] and their band of Seminoles. Took their seats quietly and modestly in rear of the Creeks. Note—indications apparent of a tight rein being held upon these people by the Creeks, as soon as the treaty is officially announced as approved. Also arrived Colonel Alberson[16] and four Chickasaw's, added to the Choctaw and Chickasaw delegations. Gave an account of further disturbances upon Red River by the approach of some of the wild tribes upon the frontier settlements of the Chickasaws and stealing of some horses and murder of one man.

The head of each tribe through their chiefs made their short speeches—(all taken down in detail). In . . . effect [admitting] necessity of this general council—wish to see old habits and recollections preserved and perpetuated. The chain thus will be kept bright and the spark alive. Note—on the evening of the fifteenth the Creeks summoned the heads of each town to a local meeting to consider the importance of the information and hint that the Osages had given them respecting the council at the Salt Plains this moon.

The talk of the Caddo chief[17] was of deep interest. He was a

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Hodge, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 385). Tobacco, regarded as a sacred plant by the Indian tribes was widely used as a vehicle in ceremonials for invoking the various dieties for assistance in producing good. Thus, tobacco with white beads (representing peace) communicated a superlative appeal for peace and good will.

15 Mickenopa and Wildcat (Coacoochee) had gained notoriety as war chiefs in the Florida Seminole War. After their forced removal to the Indian Territory as prisoners-of-war, this pair continued to play a leading role in Seminole affairs. Mickenopa served as principal chief of the Seminole Nation until his death in the vicinity of Wetumka, in 1849. Wildcat, restless and ambitious, was most famous for his pan-Indian colonization scheme which got under way around 1850 with the immigration of several hundred Seminoles, Creeks, and Kickapoo to northern Mexico.

16 Colonel Isaac Alberson, Chickasaw District Chief from 1844 to 1846, in recognition of his ability as a negotiator, was selected as a member of Cherokee Agent Butler's commission to treat with the Texas Comanches in late 1845. (Isaac Alberson's home erected in about 1844 is still standing at the south edge of Colbert, in Bryan County. He was presented a medal by Andrew Jackson in the 1830's as one of the Chickasaw leaders before the removal to the Indian Territory. A facsimile of this silver medal [still owned by members of his family] is seen in *Leaders and Leading Men of the Indian Territory* by H. F. O'Beirne [Chicago, 1891], opposite p. ii.—Ed.)

17 Chief Chowawhana.

striking man of great personal beauty and commanding appearance. Small in stature, yet beautiful and attractive features, dressed in what would be called Indian magnificence, feathers, turbans, and silver bands. His speech was looked for with interest and was very well received. Approving the council, deploring the past and probable future fate of the red man, had been gloomy, future prospects worse, hostility among themselves, destruction of their race and ruin of their children. His people honest and true to the objects of this council. Would, when he got home assemble the people and tell them the talk. The same as though they were present. The Creeks resolved to make another effort for peace, to exhaust the cup of conciliation, determined in council to send another peace offering. Tuck-a-batchi-mico and Mr. Otar Harjo[18] Creek chiefs, made long speeches in good taste and temper promising peace and good will to the effect that their brothers the Caddos had agreed to become the messengers of this tobacco and beads to the Comanches and the Osages to take it to the Pawnee Mohaws wish them to spread the news wherever they went. Wished an answer at any rate, an answer, be it good or bad. If good, another council may be called to meet at the Great Salt Plains, or some other place more agreeable, and to invite the cooperation of the United States government. Would need time to send their "broken days" through the agents of the government and request an answer to insure their reaching them.

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Colonel Alberson's Talk[19]

We are in the path of our forefathers: I have but few words to say, but will say them in the same spirit of those I have heard speak. The new Race know but little, or nothing of the habits of our fathers.

I remember to have seen a similar council in former times—this is in the original way. The path is thus kept white and clean, even to each other's doors.

The little difficulty that occurred a short time back. I now regard wiped out by this white path, and I am glad to see the white path renewed and extended to the Northern Tribes, and I am glad to see all uniting to keep clear this path. I hope all nations will join and assist in keeping this path open and clear of obstructions.

When I reach home, I will explain to my people, what I have witnessed and heard here; and I will also use my influence with the different tribes to get them to inculcate and teach the same to their children.

This is all. A short talk is often better than a long one and all

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[18] Oktarasars Harjo (Sands) was second chief of the Upper Creeks, Canadian District. He joined Opothleyahola in 1861 and helped lead the Union Indians to safety in Kansas.

[19] *Cherokee Advocate*, June 19, 1845.

sufficient. I would like to have a copy of the proceedings here, to read to my people when I get home. I am glad to see the Agents present. When I get home I will call a council and invite our Agent.

[Caddo Chief Cho-wa-wha-na's Talk]

I was glad when I received the message to meet my brothers here. I had long heard of my brothers that I had never seen. It makes me glad to meet them all. I have heard the talk, when I get home I will call my people even the women and children; and when I tell them the talk that I heard here, it will be as good as if they were all here and heard it with their own ears. My brothers have made the white path for me to travel on. I will go home on it. Should I take a notion to return at some other time I will travel it again. I have met my older and younger brothers, and my uncles, heard the talk, and will follow it; and I will smoke the pipe and tell all my people what I have heard and seen when I get home. This tobacco that is placed in my hands is for the Comanche Chief with ten strands of beads. I will go and hunt him up and give them to him; and if I get an answer I may come back. That's all.

[Choctaw Chief Nili-catgah's Talk][20]

All of us that are assembled here, are of different nations and colors. I am a friend to all. I am glad the Great Spirit has ordered this council for all the Red People and white to meet and talk about peace. We are all brothers from one parent and should not disturb each other at home, or abroad. Whatever we have we should share agreeably, not take each other's property. You might as well take off one of our legs as rob us. There are some persons of all nations who commit wrongs, and I intend this remark therefore as general. We will all recollect the place in the Muscogee Nation, where the Council Fire is built and where the smoke will ascend to the skies. There are four chiefs in the Choctaw Nation; when we return to our homes all shall hear the talk that has been delivered here. I now close and join with the Osages in wishing to get home, tho' we have been here longer than they have. I am done.

[Osage Chief Black Dog's Talk]

My brothers: The Fire was built, and I was invited here. I have come. I see my brothers wants all right.

When I saw the broken days (beads)[21] I was in a great hurry to get

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20 *Ibid.* (This was Chief Nitakechi, nephew of Chief Pushmataha. Nitakechi served as chief of the Southeastern District in Mississippi, and signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830, providing for the removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory. He came west in 1832, and made his home at Horse Prarie southeast of present Hugo, where he served as the elected chief of Pushmataha District, Choctaw Nation, for several terms until his death in 1846. He is described as a good looking man of fine form and medium size. He was a fluent speaker, and one of the most influential Choctaw chiefs of his time. —Ed.)

21 The word "beads" here was probably a reportorial error for "sticks." The use of specially prepared sticks was the traditional way for counting days, particularly among the eastern Woodland tribes. A stick was broken as each day passed, before the time set for a council, or other event.—Ed.

here and I am now in as great a hurry to get back to carry the news. I want to get to my people before they can go to that tribe at the Salt Plains.

BLACK DOG, Osage Chief: I forgot something—you have made the white path to the Pawnee Mahas; now before I get back home some of my young men may have lost horses; shall I pursue them that have stolen them? I will do as you say. Some of my men may be killed. If you say let them alone that have killed my people I will do so. I will now wait your answer. Not only may my people be killed and our horses stolen, but your people served in the same way.

[Tuckabatchemicco's Talk]

I heard my friend Black Dog. I listened to him well, and would advise him to keep near home, and wish he would advise his people not to go out too far; and as soon as we can we will let you know. Advise your women to stay at home and if you must hunt, hunt in some other direction than the Pawnee Mahas.

But a short time since we never heard of such people as the Pawnee Mahas.

All should do as our brothers the Osages; bring in all the stolen horses—to the general council. Hereafter quit stealing horses from one another; all Red men and white men too, mean it for all—this is the first cause of bloodshed. The Cherokees our brothers are not present, but we want to give some of them a talk—they have straggling men passing through the country—murdering and stealing—this must be put a stop to. I am talking to extend my talk to all under this roof. I speak as the authorized Chief of the Muscogees—Gen. McIntosh. One thing more, in a Treaty with the United States, we are pledged protection.

Troops by agreement are to be stationed at Choteau's Trading House, up the Canadian, and also up the Arkansas, at "Ufosloshago" Town.[22]

When we shall all get at peace again with the different tribes, the troops may be recalled or dispensed with etc. Whenever you meet your friends tell them these troops are placed there for our protection. The Principal Chief of our different brothers must assemble their people when they get home and explain all this; this is the last word I have to say. The next general council we will invite our brothers through the different United States Agents, to ensure their safe delivery.

Young men some times travel in the Dark, and are not enough mindful of this good talk. I am done. If any of our brothers want to talk they can do so, if not the general business of the council will be closed.

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The tobacco encircled with beads was delivered with the

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22 "Ufosloshago" is a corrupt spelling of a term indicating Lacho-poka Town, a Creek tribal community located near the Arkansas, on the present site of Tulsa. This statement by Tukabahcheemicco is interesting for it refers to old Fort Arbuckle (built 1834) that is described in the article on Col. Cooper's Report for the Battle of Round Mountain, appearing in this number of *The Chronicles*, pp. 352-?.—Ed.

usual pomp and solemnity. The talk and emblem (a stick full of eagle feathers and four strands of beads) was explained as coming from the Chippewas, Menominees, and Ottawas.

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[The Winnebagoes Talk]

The following talk together with a pipe and beads of assorted colors, was received by the Creeks, or Muscogees from the Chiefs of the Winnebagoes, Chippeways, Tahwas, and Menawallys:

Brothers—Once before we sent you a talk, but have received no answer. We have concluded, therefore, to send you another, as we have been informed that the object for which the present Council has been called, is that you may meet all your red brethren in General Council, around the Great Council Fire, which you, Muscogees, have kindled since you came to the West, to renew the friendship that formerly existed between your forefathers and other tribes, to shake hands with one another with the right hand and five fingers, and to devise the best plan by which our children shall be trained up in the straight path of peace. The talk which we send is intended not for the Muscogees alone, but also for our brethren, the Cherokees, the Choctaws and Chickasaws. We have heard that about two years ago, a Council, like the present one, was held by the Cherokees, and which, we are sorry that we could not attend. When you receive our talk and beads, and haxe explained them to your people, you will, afterwards, please return them. The beads of different colors, that we send, will represent the Languages of the tribes that send them. The Muscogees, and all other tribes, who meet around your Council Fire, we consider our friends, and wish them to shake hands with our friends for us.

When you return our beads, send us some of yours, and a talk also, informing us of the proceedings of the council.

The talk we send you, is after the manner of our forefathers.

Your friends, the Tahwas and Menawallys, send some beads, as a token of their friendship, for the Muscogees, which they wish you to keep in remembrance of them: so that should they send any of their people among you, seeing those beads they will then know that they are from their friends.

We hope the day is not far distant when we shall have the pleasure to see each other, and when we shall have the opportunity to shake hands and to talk together.

[Talk of the 'warriors' of the same tribes]

As our leading chiefs have sent a talk to those of the Muscogees—We, the "warriors" of the four different tribes, the Winnebagoes, Chippeways, Tahwas, and Menawallys, send also a talk and beads of different colors, to our friends, the warriors of the Muscogees, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. The objects we have in sending these beads, are to show that we wish to be friendly with all tribes, and to keep open the White path of peace, that we may train up our children in it, and teach them to be friendly with all men. There are many warriors among us; but we fear there are many calling themselves thus, who are not warriors. According to our old customs, it is our duty to take the talks of our head men, and to follow, they going ahead, wherever they shall lead, but whenever they fail, we, as warriors take their places, and protect them, our women, and our children. Our friends, we wish to send back a talk in reply to this one.

We, also, along with our talk, send a pipe ornamented with beads and feathers of the Eagle. The pipe being painted blue, shows that such is the color of the sky at the time we send it, and which we believe to be a token of friendship. Having received the pipe, fill it with the tobacco attached to it, and let all our friends smoke it—for when we shall see the smoke rising up to the sky, then will our hearts feel good. The beads are, also, a token of the friendship which we bear towards our brethren. The Eagle feathers, are intended to keep the White path clean, which has, of late, been stained by blood, you must sweep it out clean with them.

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This ended the ceremony. All formed a ring and each tribe in succession passed round and shook hands in silence. Soon all was bustle and preparing for a start. Their character for gravity seemed to have terminated with their official connection. Freedom and ease of manner was now apparent in all. The bottle and its usual consequence followed. Noise, bustle and frolic were all that remained. The Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Osages set out immediately. Among the Caddos that camped near at hand, the old custom of "one sober Indian" was conspicuously observed.

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Close of the Council[23]

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[23] *Ibid.*

On Friday last, the 16th, the Council broke up by a general leave-taking of those present, which was performed after their respective customs. That of the Creeks, Choctaws, etc. being by shaking hands—of the Osages, Quapaws, and others, by taking hold of the right arm about the elbow, with the right hand, and giving it a hearty grip and shake—and of the Caddoes, by embracing, a real lovers' embrace—warm, affectionate and delightfully intimate. Amongst other persons present, were Governor Butler, Cherokee Agent (to whose politeness we are indebted for much, embraced in the foregoing), Colonel Logan, Creek Agent, Lieut. Flint, U. S. Army, General McIntosh, Jim Boy, Benjamin Marshall, and other leading men among the Creeks; Miccanopy and Wildcat of the Seminoles; Shin-gah-was-sah and Black Dog, of the Osages; the Chief of the Quapaws; the Chief of the Caddoes, and other persons distinguished among their respective tribes, whose names we do not remember. The Council broke up in the utmost harmony, and we hope its good feeling may extend to all the inhabitants of the Western Prairies.

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Note—A letter was received from Major Lowry, second chief of the Cherokee Nation by the hands of W. P. Ross that the Cherokees had not received their invitation or official notice of the council until the 28th of April, too late to notify their people to attend the appointed time, the First of May, but approving the object and joining heart and hand, wishing to nation peace and perpetual friendship with all the red race. Signed, P. M. Butler, Cherokee Agent, General Council Ground, Creek Nation. Friday, 16 May, 1845.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF CABIN CREEK, 1864

*By Marvin J. Hancock**

A person traveling in the "Lake Country" of northeastern Oklahoma could come across Cabin Creek and they would not be particularly impressed. This small tributary of the Grand River does not belie its actual significance. For students of Oklahoma history, however, Cabin Creek looms large in the past. Some of the most important battles of the American Civil War in Indian Territory were fought in this area.

This creek was crossed by one of the most significant arteries of transportation west of the Mississippi River. This artery was variously known as the Osage Trace, Osage Trail, Immigrant Road, Texas Road and the Military Road.[1] Originally the road ran from Springfield, Missouri, into Kansas and then south through Indian Territory into Texas. This study concerns that segment of the Osage Trace which ran from Fort Scott, Kansas to Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation. In 1863, the United States Government established a military express between these two army posts. It was to run twice weekly and troops were to be stationed at strategic points on the road.[2] One of these military posts was the station at Cabin Creek.

At the time of the arrival of Union troops at Cabin Creek in 1862, a thriving community already existed there. The settlement included several private residences, a church mission (abandoned several years earlier), and a stage-station. With the coming of the army, a temporary hospital, stockade, and other types of military fortifications were established.[3] Cabin Creek's location

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* Marvin J. Hancock, a graduate of the University of Tulsa (1960) and now a teacher of Social Studies in the Tulsa Public School system, is making a study of the part the Indian people of the Indian Territory had in the American Civil War (1861-65). Mr. Hancock expresses grateful acknowledgement for the assistance of Mr. Les Hoelscher of Tulsa, who first interested him in the Cabin Creek battlefield and whose co-operation made possible the writing of this paper for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Mr. Hancock also acknowledges the valuable assistance received in preparation of his paper, from the University of Tulsa, under the direction of Dr. William A. Settle, head of the Department of History and Political Science, as well as from the University Library and the Oklahoma Historical Society.—Ed.

1 Grant Foreman, *The Texas Road* (2nd ed.; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954).

2 Circular, *General Orders No. 11* (United States Army, by order of Major General Blunt. Fort Scott, August 22, 1863). A copy of this circular is in the library of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Indian Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

3 Interview with Mrs. Emory Martin, Ketchum, Oklahoma, by Les Hoelscher, February 1, 1961. Mrs. Martin is the wife of J. L. Martin's

was ideal for a military post. A band of timber almost two miles wide stretched east and west of the ford, and the gently rolling prairies afforded an excellent view to the south.[4] One hundred foot bluffs along the creek gave added advantages to this natural fortification.

The post not only provided an excellent defensive position, but Stand Watie and his Confederate Indian troops found it a strategic site for repeated ambush attempts on the Union Army supply trains coming from Fort Scott.[5] The Indian troops were well fitted for such quick and silent cavalry attacks.[6] Stand Watie's numerous raids behind the Union lines along with the work of "bushwhackers" kept the Union soldiers close to heavily fortified positions, and therefore they could travel only in heavily armed groups. Consequently, the Federals held the forts, while the Confederates held the open country.

After the first two years of the war, there was no material advantage in holding the countryside. The land had suffered invasion by Union troops twice in the span of two years. What they did not destroy the Confederate raiders disposed of in the meantime. The War had divided the Cherokee Nation as it had divided the United States. Most of the homes were burned, crops were destroyed, livestock was butchered or scattered. Little remained of the former prosperity and fertility especially in this northeastern part of the Indian Territory. The able-bodied men who were not fighting in one of the two armies were in exile or in hiding. The families of the soldiers were refugees in either Kansas or Texas, depending upon where their loyalties were.[7]

The plight of the refugees was terrible. Not only was there no food to be had but there was no way of earning a living and thousands died of starvation and exposure. Very few people stayed in the Indian Territory during the war. Those who did remain suffered fates the same as those of their brethren in exile.[8]

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grandson. J. L. Martin served with Stand Watie throughout the war and was living at Cabin Creek before the Civil War.

[4] Wiley Britton, *Memoirs of the Rebellion* (Chicago: Cushing, Thomas and Company, 1882), p. 304.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 302-29.

[6] U. S. War Department, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, 70 vols.; Series I; (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Vol. III, pp. 287-92. (Hereafter cited as Official Records).

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. II, p. 918.

[8] Letter from Nancy Hitchcock, September 1, 1864. A copy of this letter is in the Grant Foreman Collection, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. (Although this letter is bias in favor of the North it gives one of the best accounts of the conditions within Indian Territory during the war).

Following the Federal occupation of the country north of the Arkansas River in 1863, the refugee Indians in Kansas came back to reclaim their homes. Constant attacks by Confederate raiders and unscrupulous bushwhackers soon forced these people to seek the safety of the nearby army posts. The United States Government had to supply its troops as well as several thousand refugee Indians at these posts.[9] The problem of supply, therefore, became increasingly acute for the Union Army. Supplies could be brought up the Arkansas River from Little Rock to Fort Smith and, then to Fort Gibson, after the Union Army had occupied Eastern Arkansas. The distruction of the steamboat *J. R. Williams* by Stand Watie early in July, 1864, along with the low water level of the river forced the Federals to depend entirely upon their overland supply route from Fort Scott[10] The Confederates were constantly either attacking Fort Gibson and Fort Smith or threatening to attack. As a result, it was difficult for the Federals to supply enough troops to protect both the supply trains and to garrison the forts adequately. A maneuver of this type was undertaken by General D. H. Cooper, commanding the Indian Division, when he made a fake attack upon Fort Gibson, while the main force of the Indian troops was attacking the Union supply line at Cabin Creek.

Ever since Federal troops had occupied the Territory north of the Arkansas River in 1863, the Indians loyal to the Southern cause had looked forward to the day when they might return to their homes. On February 5, 1864, Colonel Stand Watie[11] presented a plan for recapturing the Union held region north of the Arkansas River. The move was into central Kansas, raiding isolated army installations and enlisting wherever possible the aid of the western Indians for a much larger move into eastern Kansas.[12] In late August General Samuel B. Maxey, commander of Indian Territory for the Confederacy, received permission for such an enterprise, providing that it was undertaken before October 1, so that it would coincide with an attack upon Missouri by General Sterling Price.[13] General Richard M. Gano, who commanded the Fifth Texas Cavalry Brigade, agreed to join General Watie and his Indian Brigade for the impending campaign. The two Confederate generals met on September 13, at Camp Pike in the Choctaw Nation to draw up their battle plans and line of march. Both officers agreed that, since each of their

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9 *Official Records,* Vol. XLI, Pt. III, p. 300.

10 *Ibid.,* XLI, Pt. II, 997-99.

11 Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers,* (1st ed.; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 156-57. Stand Watie did not receive his commission until May 10, 1864.

12 *Official Records,* Vol. XXXIV, Pt. II, pp. 945-46.

13 *Ibid.,* Vol. XLI, Pt. II, 1082; also Pt. I, pp. 781-82.

respective commands were from different brigades, each officer would retain individual command of his own troops. General Watie waivered rank in favor of General Gano as the commander of the expedition, because the date of General Gano's commission was prior to that of General Watie. General Gano commended the Indian officer for this gesture, as did their commanding officer, General Maxey.[14] This was one of the few examples in either the Union or Confederate army of an officer giving up an opportunity for personal gain and glory to enhance the cause for which he was fighting.

On September 14, 1864, the combined forces of the two brigades began their long trip north. The Indian Brigade consisted of the First Cherokee Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel C. N. Vann commanding; Second Cherokee Regiment, Major John Vann commanding; First Creek Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Chekote commanding Second Creek Regiment, Colonel T. Barnett commanding; and the Seminole Battalion under Colonel John Jumper. The troops of the Indian Brigade numbered eight hundred.[15] The composition of General Gano's Brigade was as follows: Thirtieth Texas Cavalry, Captain S. M. Strayhorn commanding; Thirty-first Texas Cavalry, Major Michael Looscan commanding; Twenty-ninth Texas Cavalry, Lieutenant Colonel Otis G. Welch commanding; Martin's Battalion of Texas Cavalry, Major W. N. Mayrant commanding; Gano Gurards, Captain William G. Welch commanding; and Howell's battery of six guns, Captain Sylvanus Howell. commanding. The combined cavalry and artillery troops numbered about twelve hundred men. There were, therefore, two thousand men in the combined brigades.[16]

The expedition camped at Prairie Springs on the night of September 14. The next day they crossed the Arkansas River near the Creek Agency and the following evening found the Confederate force camped at Camp Pleasant in the Creek Nation. The Southern troops were now within only a few miles of Fort Gibson. The Union Army officers had realized the vulnerability of their supply lines for some time and were on the alert for a Confederate move such as this. Major Vann and the Second Cherokee Regiment, who were serving as scouts for the expedition, reported numerous contacts with Union scouts and pro-Union Indians. Consequently, it was not long before the Southern forces were detected and all Union Army units in the area were

14 *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 780.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 785 (Gen. Gano's forces and Col. Watie's command set out from Camp Pike located east of the Canadian River in present Haskell County [northern part of Choctaw Nation], northwest of Stigler.—Ed.)

16 *Ibid.*, p. 791.

alerted. Speed became imperative for the Confederates. They had to pass by just any chance for a fight in order to accomplish their main mission. For the troops of General Watie's command, however, any encounter whatsoever meant a chance to even the score with their "traitorous" red brothers in the Union Army.

On the morning of September 16, the combined forces crossed the Verdigris River at Sand Town. In the early afternoon they discovered a small detachment of Federal troops guarding hay operations fifteen miles northwest of Fort Gibson. The first report brought in by the Union scouts placed the number of the attacking force at 200. Captain E. A. Barker, the Union officer in charge, went to see for himself. He was met by the advance troops of the Confederates, which themselves numbered over 200 men and did not include the main force. Captain Barker fought his way back to his troops and dismounted his small force of the Second Kansas Cavalry in a small ravine with a detachment of the First Kansas Colored Infantry. General Gano sent a regiment of Texas Cavalry and a regiment of Cherokee Indians into the rear of the Union position and, as Captain Barker reported, "attacked me from five different points."[17] The determined Union forces held out for a half an hour before Captain Barker, realizing the futility of his position, mounted the troops that had horses in order to make a final attempt to break through the Confederate lines. There were 65 men in this desperate charge. Only 15 managed to break through, while the remaining dismounted men were left to escape in the best way possible.

There were reports of indiscriminate slaughtering of the colored troops by the Texans.[18] These were all Union Army reports and cannot be substantiated. Although it is true that Southern troops had no love for their former slaves, there is very little difference, in war, between men being killed by the rules or not. The end result is always death.

The Union forces suffered over 100 casualties and the loss of all of their equipment, haying machines, and several hundred tons of hay. General Gano worded the results of the engagement as, "The sun witnessed our complete success and its last lingering rays rested upon a field of Blood."[19] The general's linguistic flair, which was later to serve him well in some forty-five years in the ministry following the war, makes the traditional stylized army report read more like a novel.

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17 *Ibid.*, p. 771-72.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 772.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 789. (Gen. Gano here reports the fight with Federal forces guarding a hay camp outfit at Flat Rock ["Flat Rock Battle"], located in the prairie near the mouth of Flat Rock Creek on the west side of Grand River about 5 miles northeast of present Wagoner, in Wagoner County.—Ed.)

From the prisoners taken at Flat Rock, the Confederates learned that the expected wagon train was due any day. Accordingly, the Southern forces made plans to move out immediately. But at sunrise they discovered Union troops advancing from both the north and the south. General Gano sent Major Looscan to drive off the force south of their position (troops sent from Fort Gibson), while Major Vann engaged the enemy on the north (reinforcements going to meet the wagon train). After a brief skirmish to the north, the enemy proceeded on his way. On the morning of September 17, General Gano sent a small party to burn the hay at a nearby farm but the place was strongly protected. Rather than waste more time, the attackers withdrew to rejoin the rest of the command which was already heading north to meet the expected train. General Gano halted his forces on Wolf Creek near the present town of Salina to scout both the Military Road and the Park Hill-Fort Gibson road on the east side of Grand River. Satisfied that the train had not passed this point, General Gano then took 400 men and two pieces of artillery up the Military Road to locate the wagon train. He found the train parked at the station on Cabin Creek, its huge herd of mules grazing on the prairie south of the post.

This train had left Fort Scott on September 12. It contained 205 Government wagons, 4 Government ambulances, and 91 sutler wagons. The escort for the train was under the command of Major Henry Hopkins of the Second Kansas Cavalry who had commanded a battery of artillery since October 22, 1862. In the escort there were 80 men of the Second Kansas Cavalry, 50 men of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry and 130 men of the Fourteenth Kansas Cavalry. Major Hopkins had suspected that the rebels would make an attempt upon his train. He, therefore, sent word to all Union Army posts between Fort Scott and Fort Gibson to be on the alert for the enemy and to send him reinforcements if they could spare the men. The train was met at Baxter Springs by 100 Union Cherokees, but 50 of these were left at Hudson's Crossing on the Neosho River to protect the rear of the train.[20]

A message was received at Hudson's Crossing to the effect that General Price had crossed the Arkansas River between Little Rock and Fort Smith. This information meant that a diversionary move would come from the Confederate troops stationed in Indian Territory. Major Hopkins immediately forwarded this intelligence to his commanding officer, Colonel S. H. Wattles, at Fort Gibson and asked for reinforcements. On the night of September 17, the train camped on Horse Creek, where a message was received from the commanding officer at Fort Gibson that a rebel force of twelve to fifteen hundred men was heading north.

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20 *Ibid.*, p. 766-71 (Union Army reports including that of Major Henry Hopkins, Second Kansas Cavalry).

Major Hopkins was to proceed to the station at Cabin Creek as fast as possible and to await further orders to move the train. The dispatch also stated that Major John A. Foreman with six companies of men and two howitzers was on the way to relieve the train. The escort for the train was increased by 170 Cherokees of the Second Indian Regiment stationed at Cabin Creek and 140 Cherokees of the Third Indian Regiment sent from Fort Gibson to assist the train. The wagon train arrived at Cabin Creek on the afternoon of September 18. Major Hopkins immediately took a patrol to the south of the station to see if any rebels were in the area. He discovered the Confederates three miles south of the train but was unable to ascertain their strength because most of the forces was well hidden.

When he discovered the train parked at the station, General Gano immediately sent word for General Watie to bring up the rest of the men. When Major Hopkins returned to the station, he ordered that the train be parked at close quarters in the rear of the stockade and that all of the buildings be hastily fortified. A number of large hay ricks had been stacked in front of the stockade, extending up the creek to its right; which would afford some protection for both the men and the wagons. The Union troops were thus well fortified by the hay ricks, the temporary fortifications, the high bluffs in the rear, and the dense timber about them.

General Gano placed his troops in battle formation, with the Texas troops covering the enemy's left flank and center and the Indian Brigade covering the right flank. At one o'clock on the morning of September 19, the Confederate advance drove the Union pickets back and sporadic firing quickly broke out all along the front. After a conversation between the advance skirmishers, a flag of truce was agreed upon by both sides. The Confederates waited for what they considered a reasonable length of time and then began to advance. The Union officers later reported the rebels had not given them a chance to answer the flag of truce.[21] The Union defenders opened fire as soon as the rebels started to advance. The rebels answered with their artillery which had been stationed directly in front of the original attacking line. Major Hopkins was unaware of the presence of artillery among the Confederates and had taken no precautions for such an attack. The cannonade terrorized the mules of the train, some of whom went beserk, entangling the wagons and dragging some of them over the 100 foot bluffs. Most of the teamsters quickly cut one or more of the mules loose from the wagons and rode them

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 764-94. There are conflicting reports as to where the blame should be placed. This is just another one of the rules of a "gentlemen's war" and it has very little to do with the outcome of a battle.

back across the ford of the creek to safety. This action rendered impossible all attempts by Major Hopkins to gather the train for a retreat to safer ground.

General Gano now believed that he had succeeded in preventing a retreat of the train and withdrew his troops behind a small knoll to await the break of day and better visability. During the rest of the night, each time the Union forces attempted to move the remaining wagons, the Confederates would advance, fire a few volleys, and then retire. Sunrise revealed the exact position of the wagon train and its defenders. General Gano moved one section of his artillery to the Federal right flank and enveloped the train in a devastating cross-fire. At the same time, General Watie sent the two Cherokee regiments across the creek and into the rear of the train in order to capture all wagons that had escaped during the night and to prevent any others from retreating. Now, the Seminole Battalion was sent to the extreme left and quickly drove the Union right flank back a full 150 yards before they came to an abrupt halt. General Gano personally led a charge of the Thirtieth Texas Cavalry on this position, but the Federals were strongly entrenched and repulsed the charge. Three more Texas units were moved to this position and then drove the Federal right flank back through their camp and into wild confusion among the heavily timbered bottoms bordering the creek.

Major Hopkins saw that his position was growing more and more untenable and tried to gather his scattered troops to retreat across Grand River to the east. By nine o'clock on September 19, the Union forces had been driven from the field and were in complete rout. The majority of the survivors tried to make their way back north up the road to Fort Scott. The Federal commander still had hopes of meeting the relief force under Major Foreman and making an attempt to recapture the train. When he did not find the expected troops, Major Hopkins continued on to Fort Gibson to report the disaster to his commanding officer.[22]

The fear of the arrival of more enemy troops prevented the Rebels from pursuing the retreating Federals and taking a more complete advantage of their victory. The captured train was a rich prize by anyone's standard and most Southern sources put the monetary value of the train at one and a half million dollars.[23] The booty from the train was a God-send to the ragged and half-starved Indians. As soon as the fighting was over, the force, of two thousand men was outfitted with new clothes taken from

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 771.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 788, 792.

the loot.[24] All of the wagons that could be salvaged were immediately made ready for the trip back south. This was very difficult, since the devastating artillery fire and panic-stricken mules had turned most of the train into shambles. Despite these handicaps and the limits of time, 130 wagons and about 740 mules were taken from the battefield. Most of the remaining wagons, haying equipment and post equipment were burned. The casualties were very few considering the large number of participants in the fighting. On the Union side, about 20 men were reported killed, 26 were captured, and an undetermined number were injured. General Gano listed 7 killed and 38 wounded in his command, while General Watie reported only two killed and did not report the number of his troops who were injured.[25] Within two hours the train was ready to leave but at eleven o'clock contact had been made with a Federal relief force coming up from the south.

These Union troops had been sent from Fort Smith and were under the command of Colonel J. M. Williams of the Seventy-ninth U. S. Colored Troops. By 4:30 p.m., the two forces were engaged in an artillery duel near Pryor's Creek. As soon as it was dark, the Confederates gave the impression that they were parking the train for the night by running an empty wagon over a patch of rocky ground. They then retreated westward in order to by-pass their attackers and get the train safely home. The Federals awoke the next morning to find their enemy gone. Colonel Williams was unable to follow because of the poor condition of his men after the long forced march of the previous few days.[26]

The captured train continued its retreat until the Verdigris River was crossed near Claremore Mounds. At that point, it turned south to the crossing of the Arkansas River near the present site of Tulsa.

General Watie used several different messengers to make sure that the Indian Division Headquarters received word of the Confederate success. He also indicated in these dispatches that he expected the Union forces to try to recapture the train at some point before it reached Confederate territory. The Indian Officer told General Cooper what route the train was taking and asked him to keep in constant communication with the train in event of enemy attack.[27] General Cooper sent Colonel D. N. McIntosh with 400 Creek troops to help bring the train in safely. When Colonel McIntosh saw that the train was proceeding unmolested, he turned back to scout the Fort Gibson area and to find out

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24 *Ibid.*, p. 780.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 792.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 765.
27 *Ibid.*, p. 784.

what information he could about the movements of Union troops.[28]

The Union forces did not make another attempt upon the train because of the fear that General Cooper was coming north with another large Confederate force to join those from the train for an attack upon Fort Gibson. Major Foreman arrived at Cabin Creek a day after the battle and then continued on to Fort Scott to escort an ox train down to Fort Gibson with desperately needed supplies. He remained at the scene of the raid long enough to care for the wounded and to salvage what scattered equipment and supplies the Confederates had left behind.[29]

In the meantime, Colonel Williams had withdrawn to Fort Gibson to reinforce that post in case of an attack.[30] The Union military telegraph wires hummed with news of their recent disaster. Orders were sent out for all available troops in the area to protect any future supply attempts to Indian Territory. Moreover, troops were ordered to concentrate in southern Kansas in preparation for repelling any Confederate invasion of ~~that~~ state.[31] A request was sent to the Governor of Kansas to call out the militia to replace troops that had been withdrawn from the regular Union Army posts in the state.[32] Rumors sped about both Kansas and Missouri as to the location of the supposed Confederate invasion. The civilians in these two states began to see rebel troops around every corner, bush, and tree. There was also a great concern over the threat of the Indians going on the "warpath" again. These fears were not quieted even when it was discovered for sure that General Price was the one actually making an attempt to invade Missouri. Even the United States War Department showed some concern over the threat by the rebels, although the Union Army was in the dominant positions on all fronts of the war.[33] The Federal officials admitted that the capture of the train was costly and made extensive preparations to see that such an act would be more difficult to perform in the future.[34] An attempt was made by the owners of the sutler goods and wagons in the captured train to collect damages from General Watie after the war was over.[35] Within a week or so after General Price had been defeated, the Union Army returned to its interrupted pursuit of the war. This was not the situation among the Southern forces in the West.

The Confederates were jubilant over their victory. The war

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28 *Ibid.*, p. 783.
29 *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 301.
30 *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 765.
31 *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 439.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 279.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 322.
34 *Ibid.*, p. 314.
35 *Cherokee Cavaliers*, pp. 258-59.

in the East had been going badly for their cause and very little attention was paid to the operations in Indian Territory. The victory at Cabin Creek was one of the few bright spots in an otherwise disappointing year for the South. The Southern troops were loudly praised by their superiors within Indian Territory.[36] A letter of thanks and commendation came from the headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Department.[37] General Maxey issued congratulatory orders for his troops and their families. Copies of these were so much in demand that he had to order a reprinting of the orders.[38] The Confederate Congress gave a vote of thanks to the Indian troops.[39]

The Confederate victory had its greatest impact within Indian Territory. Militarily, the raid holds only a small place in a large war. Its importance lies not in the military aspect but in the effect the success of the raid had upon the people in Indian Territory, particularly the Indians. These half-starved and demoralized people had been afforded little cheer throughout the war. Their land was devastated. Their people were divided and those who were not dead, were in exile. Despite the failure of the Confederate Government to keep its treaty obligations with the Indians, they had continued to fight.[40] Albert Pike,[41] General Maxey[42] and the Confederate Indian Commissioner[43] had all voiced loud and frequent pleas for the Indians, but to no avail.[44] In July, 1864, the Cherokee regiments had voted unanimously to re-enlist for the duration of the war.[45] The other tribes had likewise shown faith in the future of the Confederacy. The morale of the Indian troops reached a new high at this point. In December, 1864, General Maxey said they felt that "they could fight a whole army."[46] This elation was only temporary in as much as

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36 Circular, *General Orders No. 26* (Confederate States Army, by order of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper. Camp Bragg, September 30, 1864). and *General Orders No. 61.* (Confederate States Army, by order of Major General Samuel B. Maxey. Fort Towson, Choctaw Nation, October 7, 1864). Copies of these general orders are in the library of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Indian Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

37 *Ibid.*, No. 81.

38 *Official Records,* Vol. XLI, Part IV, p. 1000.

39 *Cherokee Cavaliers,* pp. 222-23.

40 *Official Records,* Vol. LIII, p. 857.

41 *Ibid.*, XIII, 819-23.

42 *Ibid.*, LIII, 963-66 and XXXIV, Part II, 918.

43 *Ibid.*, XLI, Part IV, 1090.

44 There is a large amount of evidence that the Confederate Government considered Indian Territory insignificant in the conduct of the war. The most obvious of this evidence is the neglect that the Territory suffered throughout the war.

45 *Official Records,* Vol. XLI, Part II, p. 1013.

46 *Ibid.*, LIII, 1029.

the next spring saw the fall of the Confederacy. But the war was not over in Indian Territory. General Watie did not surrender his arms until June, 1865.[47] Apparently, he was the last Confederate general officer to do so. The Chickasaw and Caddo troops did not lay down their arms officially until July, 1865.[48] The people and the land in Indian Territory suffered as much or more than any comparable area in either the North or the South.[49]

The victory at Cabin Creek and its beneficial effects were one of the few bright spots in an otherwise tragic series of episodes in Indian and American history.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FORT SILL APACHE TRIBE

*By Benedict Jozhe**

The Fort Sill Apache Tribe are the descendents of three Apache Tribes: the Warm Spring Apache Tribe, the Chiricahua Apache Tribe and the Nednai Apache Tribe.

They were a hunting and wild food gathering people. For their sustenance, they depended almost completely on wild plant, seeds and animal life. From earliest times, until deprived of their lands, they in their efforts to obtain sustenance, spread over and used and occupied all of the wide extent of their ancestral lands.

By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of February 2, 1848 following the close of the war between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, the Mexican Republic ceded to the United States sovreignty over a vast territory called the Mexican Cession Territory. Including lands owned, and occupied, from time immemorial, by the Warm Spring Apache and Chiricahua Apache tribes.

The ancestral lands of the Warm Spring Apache Tribe were located in the southwestern part of the present state of New Mexico, within the present United States. They lived in the following areas of their country: the Mimbres, Pinas Altos, Mogollon, and San Mateo mountains. Around the head waters of the Gila River, in the vicinity of the Copper Mines near Santa Rita, New Mexico and Hot Springs, New Mexico. The Mexican people called Hot Springs, "Ojo Cleinte." It is located near the present town of Dusty, New Mexico. The Warm Springs Apaches called the Hot Springs area, "Ti-go-tel." In the Apache language it means "Four broad plains." It was their favorite home.

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* Benedict Jozhe, descendant of Chiefs Mahko, Mangus Coloradas, Cochise and Loco, is Chairman of the Fort Sill Apache Tribal Council, and makes his home at Apache, Oklahoma. Mr. Jozhe obtained his information on the history of the Apache through discussions over many years with the oldest living members of the tribe both in Oklahoma and New Mexico. He also found data in the original records of the War Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which he examined while on trips to Washington as the representative of his tribe through assisting in compiling the briefs by Mr. Cobb Weissbrodt, Washington Attorney for the Fort Sill Apaches. He also helped gather genealogical and historical data by assisting the Fort Sill Museum on the project of marking the Apache graves found on the Fort Sill Military Reserve. When this project was completed, Mr. Jozhe and members of the Fort Sill Apache Council took part in the commemorative, historical program held in June, 1961, at the old Fort Sill Apache cemetery north of the present military post. Here is seen a monument at the grave of Geronimo, the noted Apache warrior in history.—Ed.

Including Warm Springs, they were also called by the following names: Ojo Cleinte, Copper Mine, Mogollon, Mimbres, Pinas Altos, and Gila Apaches. Their Indian name is "Chee-henda" and it means "Red Paint People." They had an agency at Ojo Cleinte, New Mexico Territory.

Their leaders since 1848 were Mangus Coloradas, Loco, Victorio, and Nana. Mangus Coloradas became chief after Juan Jose was killed in the vicinity of the Copper Mines by white men in the employ of the Mexicans there. The Warm Springs people regarded Mangus Coloradas as one of the greatest leaders of the Apaches all-together. On occasions, he represented the Apache Nation, and was responsible for the treaty in 1852 with the United States. As Captain Cremony in 1868 wrote, "He was truly the King Philip of the Apache Nation," and "Beyond all comparison the most famous Apache warrior and statesman of the century." He early realized the futility of warfare against the whites and while on a peaceful mission was treacherously murdered by soldiers who were escorting him to a fort to negotiate a treaty.

Chief Loco, who succeeded Mangus Coloradas, was peaceful and cooperated with the Government at all costs. His subchief Victorio tried to cooperate with the Government but became impatient with the government demands for his people to be removed to San Carlos Reservation, Arizona Territory, and refused to leave his country a second time. He considered it unfair and unjust for his people to leave their country against their wishes, especially since they did no wrong against the government to warrant such treatment. He was pursued on both sides of the border by the United States and Mexican troops. He fought for his rights and his country until he was killed about a year later by Mexican troops in Mexico.

Living today at Apache, Oklahoma is a grand-son of Mangus Coloradas, Mr. Talbot Gooday, who is about one hundred years old. Also of worthy mention is Mr. James Kawaykla, Sr.,[1] a grand nephew of Victorio, who was with him in Mexico when he was killed. Moses, Norman, Raymond and Richard Loco are the grand-sons of Chief Loco.

The second Apache tribe is the Chiricahua. Their ancestral lands were located in the southeastern part of the present state of Arizona, within the present United States. They lived in the following areas within their country: Dos Cabezas, Chiricahua, and Dragoon mountains. Their agency was located at Apache Pass, Arizona Territory and Thomas Jeffords was their agent

[1] The autobiography of James Kaywaykla, last survivor of Chief Victorio's band of Warm Spring Apaches, as told to Mrs. Eve Ball, is scheduled to be published as a book this spring (1962), in Arizona.

Chief Loco of the Warm Spring Apache.

Dos-teh,sah, daughter of Magnus Coloradas and mother of Tahzah.

Carl Magnus, son of Magnus Coloradas and uncle of Talbot Gooday of Apache, Oklahoma.

Chi-hau-hau, sub-chief of the Chiricahua Apache, under Cochise.

for a time. Their only name was Chiricahua. Their Indian name which means "Great Mountain" or "Mountain People" is "Cho-gun-an."

The Chiricahua leaders since 1848 were Cochise, Taza, Naiche, and Chatto. Much has been written about Cochise and his story has had wide coverage on television and in the movies that his story is well known. His Chiricahua people regarded him as one of their greatest leaders. When he died in 1874 of natural causes, he chose his son, Taza, to succeed him as chief. Taza died while in Washington on tribal business in September 1876 and is buried in an unmarked grave in the Congressional Cemetery there. According to the Apaches Taza had no children. Another son of Cochise, Naiche, was an influential leader among his people and died at Mescalero, New Mexico about 1921. Chatto also died at Mescalero, New Mexico in 1934.

Among the Fort Sill Apache Tribe there are three grandsons of Naiche. They are Mason Kawaykla, Harold Kawaykla and James Kawaykla, Jr. He has a son, Christian Naiche, living at Mescalero, New Mexico.

The ancestral lands of the third tribe, the Nednai Apache Tribe, were located in the northern part of the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua in Mexico. The remnants of the Nednai people came among the Chiricahua Apaches and lived with them prior to their imprisonment in 1886.

Juh (Ho) was chief of the Nednai Apaches. Some of the Apaches say that Geronimo was a Nednai Apache. After the dominant leaders of the Chiricahua and Nednai Apaches died or were killed, Geronimo influenced the leaders of these tribes. Geronimo was never considered a chief by the Apaches. He died at Fort Sill, Oklahoma and is buried in the Apache Cemetery there in 1909.

Robert Geronimo, a son of Geronimo, now lives at Mescalero, New Mexico and a second cousin, Jason Betzinez,[2] lived at Apache, Oklahoma. Among Apaches of the present generation who have attained national recognition is Allan C. Houser (Haozous), painter, sculptor, and teacher at Intermountain Indian School, Brigham City, Utah.

In 1886, when Geronimo and some of the Apaches were brought in by General Miles, all the Warm Spring Apache Tribe,

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[2] Jason Betzinez born early in the Civil War period was noted for his book *I Fought With Geronimo* (The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1959), written when he was over ninety at his home near Apache, Oklahoma. He died from injuries received in an automobile accident in 1961. A review of his book appears in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter, 1959-60), pp. 52-21.—Ed.

NAICHE, SON OF COCHISE (1900)

Watson Mitlo and Benedict Johze, Fort Sill Apache, at site of Tahzay's grave in Congressional Cemetery, 1960.

the Chiricahua Apache Tribe, and the Nednai Apache Tribe were imprisoned at Fort Pickens and Fort Marion, Florida. Peaceful and hostile alike were taken to Florida, including the scouts who took the oath to serve the United States under the flag at Fort Apache, Arizona Territory. They were lined up under the same flag and were disarmed and sent to the Florida prisons. While at Florida 112 children were sent to the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Nearly one-third of them died at Carlisle. Due to the unhealthy condition of the prisons in Florida, many died and they were transferred to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama in 1888.

In October 1894 they were brought to the Fort Sill Reservation in Oklahoma Territory. This land was given for the permanent settlement of the Apache Prisoners of War by the Kiowa, Comanche and Kiowa-Apache tribes. While at Fort Sill they engaged in farming and cattle raising and in these enterprises they were highly successful. Many of the men were Indian scouts and some of them enlisted in the regular army.

In 1913, the Fort Sill Apaches as they were called by the people here in the area were released from prisoner of war status at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. At this time approximately 240 elected to go to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. Today, they share this reservation with the Mescalero Apache Tribe and are engaged in cattle raising and other enterprises there.

Eighty-two elected to remain in Oklahoma in the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache Reservation. They received from the government $3,000 to the head of the family and $2,000 each to the dependents. With this money they were able to purchase 80 acre allotments, more or less, from the dead allotments of the Kiowas, Comanches and Kiowa-Apaches. The Fort Sill Apaches have no tribal property. The membership today is approximately 115.

Those in New Mexico call themselves the "Chiricahua Apache Tribe" and those in Oklahoma the "Fort Sill Apache Tribe."

DELOS K. LONEWOLF, KIOWA

By Hugh D. Corwin

Delos K. Lone wolf was born in the Kiowa-Comanche Country, about four miles southeast of the present site of Gotebo, Oklahoma, during the summer of 1870. The Kiowas kept no exact record of births at this early date, so the month of his birth is not known. He was by birth, the son of Saudle-kon-geah, (Black Turtle), who was the oldest of five brothers. The other brothers being, Bale-kon-geah, Mam-a-day, (who was bequeathed the name of Gui-pah-go, or Lone Wolf), Spotted Bird and Ho-bay or Wolf. When his father died, Lone Wolf, a brother of Black Turtle, adopted him, and in this way he was named Lonewolf.

In those early days school facilities were very inadequate and the boy did not start to school until he was fourteen years old. He attended the old Kiowa School near the present site of Riverside Indian School, Anadarko, Oklahoma. This Old Kiowa School had been founded by Alfred J. Standing in 1871. While at this[1] school Lonewolf was christened, "Delos Knowles," by a kindly school teacher of the same name. After spending several years at the Kiowa Boarding School he enrolled at the Chilocco Indian School near the Kansas state line. There as a student carpenter he helped in the building program that ultimately led to the expansion program from one lone building, called "Old Home Two," to the vast plant that is the Chilocco School of today.

After some years at Chilocco, he enrolled as an advanced student at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he gained national fame as a full back on the Carlisle football squad. One of the highlights of these years was the defeating of the widely acclaimed Princton University Team. He also attended Metzger College, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he again played football. Another proud occasion in his school days at Carlisle was his selection as a model for a statue, "The Buffalo Hunt", by Busch-Browne.

While a student at Carlisle the pattern for his life work was being laid, in that he often accompanied the elder Chief Lone Wolf to nearby Washington, D.C., to serve as interpreter in tribal affairs. Also, noteworthy was his interest and partici-

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[1] The Rev. Ted Lonewolf, "Delos Knowles Lonewolf", *The Minutes of the INDIAN MISSION of Oklahoma, The Methodist Church,* (1945-1946), pp. 29, 30.

pation in religious activities at the school. He began organizing Indian youth and started groups equivalent to the present Epworth Brotherhoods, now so prevalent among the Southwest Plains Indians.

Delos Lonewolf was united in marriage to Ida Wassee in July 1896, during a camp meeting near the present site of the Saddle Mountain Indian Baptist Church in the Wichita foothills northwest of Lawton. Reverend A. E. Butterfield, an early Methodist Missionary to the Kiowas and Comanches, was the officiating clergyman. To this union were born six children; Mary Reynolds Lonewolf, deceased; Hazel Lucile, now Mrs. Matthew Botone; Margaret Belle Lonewolf, deceased; Esther, now Mrs. Edgar Toppah; Celia, now Mrs. James Daugamah, and Reverend Theodore R. Lonewolf. For a time Mr. and Mrs. Lonewolf made their home in the Old Town community, which is now a part of the city of Anadarko, living there until 1898. While there Lonewolf was employed as commission clerk and carpenter at the Indian Agency.

In 1898, he moved his family to land seven miles southeast of the present town of Carnegie where he and his wife later took adjoining allotments. He farmed this land for many years and at the same time was active in tribal affairs, and, although never striving for publicity, he became a tribal figure and leader.

Delos Lonewolf and his wife divorced and some years later he married Mrs. Bessie McKenzie. He made numerous trips to the National Capital in behalf of his fellow Kiowas. January 10, 1925, he was in Washington and appeared before the committee on Public lands of the House of Representatives, in the matter of the Red River, oil-land royalties. This is his statement on that occasion:[2]

My name is Delos K. Lonewolf; my age is fifty-four years. I am a full-blood Kiowa Indian and have spent all my life among my people in Oklahoma with the exception of seven years while I was off attending school.

I graduated from Carlisle Indian School in 1896.

I am a nephew of Lonewolf who was chief of the Kiowa Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma when the so called Jerome agreement was signed in 1892. He was the adopted son of War Chief Quiel Park, (Gui-pah-go), or Lone Wolf, who signed the treaty of the Little Arkansas in 1865.

Article 12 of the Medicine Lodge Treaty (1867), provides that no treaty for the cession of any portion of the reservation therein set aside to the Indians should be valid unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of the adult male Indians occupying the same.

I was at Carlisle Indian School at the time the Jerome Agreement

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[2] Public Document 27727, Hearings before the Committee on the Public Lands—House of Representatives, sixty-eighth Congress, Second Session, on House Resolution 178, January 6, 1925, Part 2.

was signed and there was great dissatisfaction among the Indians as the result of this alleged agreement. Investigations were made which showed that the agreement had not been signed by the required number of adults. If the age limit was eighteen, the signers were about 91 short of the required number. If the age limit was 21, the signers were about 237 short of the required number.

It was ascertained that many Indians who had signed this agreement did so under a misapprehension of its terms, they being led to believe that they were signing an agreement of entirely different purport. At this time very few Indians in the tribe could speak, read or write English.

A large number of the Indians knew that the Jerome agreement was fradulent and a delegation was selected to go to Washington to protest to the President against its approval. I was at Carlisle at that time and joined the delegation in Washington. Delegations were sent from time to time during a period of eight years to protest against the approval of the Jerome agreement and I was on the delegations every time they came to Washington. On one occasion, I recall that Gen. Hugh L. Scott was a member of the delegation.

After the act of Congress of June 6, 1900 was passed, which approved this fraudulent agreement, my Uncle, Lone Wolf, filed a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States against the Secretary of the Interior to enjoin him from carrying into effect the provisions of this act for the reasen that the Jerome agreement had been procured by fraud and did not meet the requirements of the treaty of 1867. My Uncle, who was not educated and did not understand the English language, relied upon me to represent him in carrying on this suit.

The Supreme Court decided that Congress had the authority to pass the act of June 6, 1900, without regard to the Jerome Agreement or any other agreement or treaty with the Indians and therefore did not go into the questions of the fraud involved in the Jerome agreement. This decision is reported in Volume 187, United States, page 553.

The 480,000 acres of pasture reserve set aside by this act of Congress remained Indian tribal land until it was allotted to the Indians in severalty born since the act of June 6, 1900, and sold to settlers under the act of Congress of June 5, 1906. The proceeds of sales to settlers were paid into the Indians tribal trust fund for the Indians.

Pasture Reserve No. 1, known as "Big Pasture," was located on the north bank of Red River "beginning at a point where Range line 10 W (between Townships 10 and 11) intersects the mid-channel of said river to the west line of Range 16." This area embraces thirty-six miles of frontage on the north bank of Red River. The oil pool from which all the oil in Red River has been produced in the south half of Red River is in range 14 joining the mid-channel of Red River, which formed the southern boundary of pasture reserve No. 1. This reserve was expressly excepted from the purchase made by the United States under the act of June 6, 1900, and continued to remain part of the reservation set aside for the Indians by the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867 until it was alloted and sold to settlers. The United States did not acquire this reserve by purchase.

If the south boundary of the reserve of 1867 had been designated in their treaty as the Texas line as the Indians believed was intended, the south half of Red River throughout the extent of Pasture Reserve No. 1

would have been a part of this reservation and would have remained the property of the Indians."

Delos K. Lonewolf.

Washington D.C., January 10, 1925.

Reverend Delos K. Lonewolf

A church member since student days, he became more and more conscious of the Christian religion until at last he answered the call to preach. In 1923, he was licensed to preach at the Old Cedar Creek Indian Methodist Church, two and a half miles southeast of the present Cedar Creek Indian Church, near Carnegie, Oklahoma. He was among the first, if not actually the first Methodist Indian to be licensed to preach in the Kiowa Nation, although there had been several licensed exhorters and lay workers among the Kiowa people. He was active in his field, and it was through his efforts that the Stecker Charge, and later Lone Wolf Chapel came into being as churches in the Western District of the Indian Mission Conference. These will stand as living monuments to his tireless efforts and high aims.

The Reverend Lonewolf became ill in 1935 from a series of paralytic strokes and was in poor health until his death, March 15, 1945. Final rites were conducted at the Cedar Creek Indian Methodist Church by the Reverend D. D. Etchieson on March 18, 1945, with interment in the Cedar Creek Indian Cemetery.

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NECROLOGY

FREDERICK PAGE BRANSON
1881—1960

Frederick Page Branson, better known as Fred P. Branson, was a lawyer, judge, business man, civic leader and resident of Muskogee, Oklahoma. He departed this life in a hospital at Tulsa, Oklahoma, October 5, 1960, at the ripe age of seventy-nine years. The funeral was conducted by Dr. Wilford Jones, minister of Saint Paul Methodist Church of Muskogee, Oklahoma, and interment was in the Branson mausoleum at Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Rome, Georgia.

Judge Branson, as he was called, in deference to his years on the bench, had been ill more than a year before he died.

He came of sturdy revolutionary stock. He said his ancestors owned the land at Guilford Court House in North Carolina where the battle of the Revolutionary War was fought March 15, 1781 between General Green's Continental troops and the British forces under Lord Cornwallis. Branson often visited this place, was proud of his ancestory and the fact that his forebears had taken part in the American Revolution.

Branson's mother was Rhoda Page. She was reared at a small place called Pine Log, Georgia, a few miles north of Cartersville, Georgia. She first married Harrison Mull and moved west, settling at Dardanelle, Arkansas. By this union she had one child, Joseph Mull, afterwards a physician of Rome, Georgia, who died in 1906, leaving a large family of nine children. Upon the death of her husband, Rhoda Page Mull and her son, Joseph Mull, returned to Georgia from Arkansas, settling at Cass Station, Georgia. There she met and married Levi Branson, a widower. Of this marriage, there were born three sons and one daughter: Thomas Branson, Frederick Page Branson, Jessie Branson Adams, Homer Branson and Rhoda Page Branson. All of these preceded Judge Branson in death. Levi Branson is buried at Costanala Methodist Church Cemetery about nine miles north of Rome, Georgia. Homer Branson died many years ago, and is buried at the same place. Upon the death of Levi Branson, Rhoda Page Branson moved to Rockmart, Georgia, to live in order to have a school for her children. She died at Rockmart, Georgia, a small town about thirty-five miles south of Rome, Georgia many years ago, and is buried in the cemetery at Rockmart. Judge Branson erected a handsome monument to her grave in memory of his mother. Judge Branson has a long list of nephews and nieces living.

Frederick Page Branson was born at Rockmart, Georgia, March 1, 1881, on a farm. Living was not easy. The War Between the States had destroyed the resources of the country and Fred frequently walked the streets of Rockmart and Rome selling eggs and vegetables produced from the farm, that he might help his mother provide for the family.

His education was limited to the school at Rockmart, and afterwards he attended Emory University at Atlanta. He dreamed of the day when the newspapers would carry the story of him sitting on the bench as judge, deciding important matters of law. With this in mind he left Georgia soon after the turn of the century and landed at McAlester, Indian Territory, where for a short time he was Deputy

Clerk of the United States Court of Appeals for Indian Territory. He left McAlester, and was employed by the Commissioner of the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee, Indian Territory. He soon left this office and opened an office to practice law in Muskogee.

He loved politics and was elected to the House of Representatives of the First Legislature of the State of Oklahoma in 1907. Later, he was elected County Attorney of Muskogee County two terms. Then he was appointed District Judge for the Judicial District comprising Muskogee and Wagoner Counties, Oklahoma. Next he was elected Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, and during the six year term he served on this court he was for two years Chief Justice of Oklahoma, and the presiding officer of said court. He was proud of the fact that of nine opinions he rendered as Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, that were appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, all were approved and affirmed. While he was Chief Justice controversial questions stirred the Court, but with the boldness born of conviction he stood firm with the Constitution and what he believed was right. The legislature tried to call itself into session to hear impeachment charged against the Governor, but Branson wrote an opinion for the court, that under the Constitution of Oklahoma the Legislature could be called in special session only by call of the Governor. There was no call by the Governor and Branson refused to preside over the Senate to hear the impeachment charge. After he left the Court he went to Texas, bought several oil leases and drilled a wildcat well. Some of his leases proved very productive and placed him on easy street the rest of his life.

Governor Roy J. Turner appointed him President of the Grand River Dam Authority, which position he held for several years, resigning in 1959. While President of the Grand River Dam Authority, the Authority made a contract for interchange of public power with the Public Service Company of Tulsa that ended a controversy that had continued for several years. This contract had the full approval of Governor Gary. He made two unsuccessful efforts for the Democratic nomination for congressman, one from his home district and one from the state at large. He announced his candidacy for Governor of Oklahoma, but withdrew in favor of Roy J. Turner, who was elected.

He was a member of Saint Paul Methodist Church of Muskogee; Masonic Lodge No. 28 of Muskogee; Chapter Three of Royal Arch Masons, of Muskogee Commandery No. 2 of the Knights Templar and of Bedouin Temple of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine; and a life member of Lodge 517 of BPOE. He was a member of the Muskogee County and Oklahoma Bar Associations and a member of the Democratic party of Oklahoma. He was the first State Chairman of the Democratic party of Oklahoma.

He married Eula Jeans in 1903, who preceded him in death. No children were born to this union. Mrs. Branson died January 27, 1950, and was buried in the Branson mausoleum in Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Rome, Georgia. Judge Branson married a second time.

Judge Branson and the writer were close friends for over fifty years, and he was always held in sincere affection. It is fitting to say these few words in commendation of him and his life, for he was a wise statesman, a good lawyer, a good judge, a Christian gentleman and a good man. He gave to his country the best in him. He was noble by birth, yet nobler by great deeds.

—William B. Moore

Muskogee, Oklahoma

FREDERICK PAGE BRANSON

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING OCTOBER 26, 1961

President George H. Shirk called to order the meeting of members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at 10:00 a.m. Thursday, October 26th.

Immediately Dr. Chapman announced that he had a small item to show to the members of the Board and which subsequently would be given to the Society to be placed in the museum. He produced a gavel, ballot box and seal which he said had been used by the Anti-Horse Thief Association in Oklahoma. The President used the gavel in presiding over the meeting.

Roll call by the Administrative Secretary showed present: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and President George H. Shirk.

Members absent and requesting to be excused were: Mr. W. D. Finney, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, and Mr. J. Lloyd Jones. Mr. Mountcastle moved that the members absent and so requesting be excused. Dr. Dale seconded the motion which was put and carried.

After the roll call, President Shirk announced that he noted a number of visitors present. Introduced were: Mrs. Willard Carver, Mrs. Lotus Alexander Harper, Mrs. Ralph Wicker, Mrs. Charles Ault, Dr. Elizabeth Borden, Mrs. Edward Beecher, Mrs. Emery D. Wiley, Mrs. Lulu Dowell Post, Miss Nell Fangel, Miss Ethel Bosinger, Miss Juanita Harris, Mrs. D. W. Keating, Mrs. Glen L. Dark, Mrs. Arthur Petrie, Mrs. Adele Martin Medina, Mrs. Duard Pyle, Mrs. John G. Dougherty, and Mrs. Irene Butcher.

Mr. Mountcastle moved to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was put and carried.

The Administrative Secretary read the list of applicants for annual membership and a list of items given to the museum during the past quarter. Miss Seger moved that the applicants be elected to membership and the gifts be accepted. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion which carried when put.

Mrs. Bowman gave the Treasurer's Report which showed for the past quarter total cash receipts of $3,071.23, total disbursements of $6,091.21, and a cash balance as of September 30, 1961, of $1,851.80. Mrs. Bowman said the Membership Endowment Fund cash balance in the City National Bank and Trust Company is $103.65, the Life Membership Endowment Fund in the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Company is $1,800.00. Mrs. Bowman also said the Endowment Fund has $17,500.00 in government bonds in safekeeping at the First National Bank and Trust Company.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the Treasurer's Report be accepted as given. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was put and carried.

The President called for the report of the Microfilm Committee and Mr. Phillips reported that the Society now has two machines in operation; that better to fit in with other departments the Microfilm Department has taken an employee who had already been in the employ of the Society; and that this employee is still working in some other departments in the building part-time and has received special training at the microfilm processing firm. Mr. Phillips pointed out that every newspaper publisher is offered his own old papers when they have been microfilmed. He said some want to give them to schools or local libraries, and he added that a good number are purchasing microfilm. He called attention to the fact that the Society now has a machine which will reproduce from microfilm full-size newspaper pages or two tabloid-size pages.

Mr. Muldrow asked how many pages have been microfilmed to now and Mr. Phillips replied about 3.25 million. He said this includes current newspapers as received.

Reporting for the Tour Committee, Mr. R. G. Miller told of plans for the proposed Historical Society Tour for June 7, 8, 9, 1962. The tour is to be made through the southeastern part of the state as previously outlined.

Mr. Muldrow moved that the recommendations of the Tour Chairman be accepted. Miss Seger seconded the motion which was put and carried.

Mr. Joe W. McBride, reporting for the Membership Committee, said the Society was now prepared to get out better mailing to prospects for membership and asked the members of the Board to submit any suggestions.

Reporting for the Portrait Committee, Mr. Shirk said that an invitation issued to the Muldrow family to submit a portrait of Mr. H. L. Muldrow had been accepted. He said that the portrait was ready but suggested that formal acceptance be deferred until the annual meeting next April. He added that he felt the annual meeting would be the only appropriate time to accept the portrait with fitting dignity. He further stated there was also on view in the Board room the commission of Judge Edgar S. Vaught, signed by President Coolidge. Mr. Shirk said that the commission had been presented to the Society by the Vaught family. He added that the Commissions of the late Judge W. R. Wallace and the late Judge Bower Broadus were being given by the families and that they would be presented at the next meeting for acceptance. Dr. Harbour made a motion that the commission be accepted and the family of Judge Vaught be thanked. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which carried.

President Shirk invited attention of the Board to the fact that the Administrative Secretary, Mr. Fraker, had been elected a member of the Council of the American Association for State and Local History. He pointed out that the National Council is composed of 15 members, each serving a term of four years, and that the election was a signal honor to the State of Oklahoma.

President Shirk laid the following letter before the Board and asked that it be made part of the minutes:

United States District Court
Western, Northern and Eastern Districts of Oklahoma
Oklahoma City 2, Oklahoma

Luther L. Bohanon
Judge

Mr. George H. Shirk, President
Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear George,

I want to thank the Oklahoma Historical Society and you for your letter of congratulations to me on my appointment to the Federal Bench.

It was very nice indeed for you to write, and your letter and the interest of the Oklahoma Historical Society does me great honor and fills my heart with pride.

I have been a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society for more than twenty years, and I truly believe that we should enlarge our Life Membership to not less than a quarter of a million people, because Oklahoma history is rich in so many different fields of endeavor.

The work I did in the Otoe and Missouria Tribe of Indians case before the Indian Claims Commission enlarged and extended my knowledge of our Indian people, not only in Oklahoma but throughout the nation.

I have now laid down the duties of an advocate and have assumed the duties of a Judge, and it reminds me of a quotation I recently read in the Great Book, which I should like to pass on to you:

> Micah 6:8
> "And what doth the Lord require but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

I shall endeavor always to remember the Bible's admonitions.

With sincere and all good wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

LUTHER BOHANON

At the call of the President for a report from the Civil War Centennial, Mr. Henry B. Bass said that a philosophy that he had evolved was that history was probably the most important thing in any of our lives. He said he thought we needed a thorough knowledge of the past. Along with history, he added, he did some letter-writing — mostly to correlate his own thinking. He said, I heartily approve of everything our patriotic organizations are for. Our Commission and its Chairman have shown so much interest in the Civil War that we are regarded as being one of the Confederate States of America. The Highway Department will print the Civil War map on the back of the next Oklahoma Highway Map. As you know, we are also conducting the newspaper column, 'One Hundred Years Ago Today in Indian Territory.' For writing this column, Mr. Shirk is due the undying gratitude of everyone in this state. The Society is putting on a contest among the school children of the state to get them to prepare scrapbooks.

Mr. Shirk explained the contest and said he also received fine cooperation from Channel 13 Educational Television Station. He said the response from the school children of the state had been amazing. He said there was a matter that needed to be ruled on formally. He explained that families of several members of the staff of the Society had evidenced interest in the contest. He asked for a vote on whether the children and grandchildren of the members of the staff be eligible for participation in the contest.

Dr. Harbour moved that they be allowed to participate. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion which was adopted.

Judge Busby brought up the question of the Resolution passed by the last legislature to change the name of the building to the Wiley Post Historical Building. He said he had written to each member of the Board with an addendum to his letter. He stated he wanted to file a motion which would open this question for discussion. Judge Busby read his entire motion.

Mr. Boydstun commented to the effect that he was a member of the Legislature when the 1929 bill regarding the Oklahoma Historical Society was adopted. He said that, as he remembered, the original act gave the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society concurrent jurisdiction with the State Board of Affairs.

Several members of the Board made comments voicing their opposition to any change in the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. It was finally agreed that the President be authorized to appoint a committee, the duty of which would be to prepare a Resolution setting forth the reasons for the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society opposing any name change for the Historical Society Building. It was directed that such Resolution be presented to the State Board of Affairs. In furtherance of this objective, President Shirk appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Joe McBride, Chairman; Mr. Milt Phillips; and Mr. Joe Curtis.

Following the adjournment of the meeting, the Committee, using the materials submitted by Judge Busby, drew a resolution to be presented to the State Board of Affairs. The resolution as drawn by the committee is attached hereto and made a part of these minutes.

President Shirk introduced Mr. Hugh Randall who was a former member of the Oklahoma Legislature. Mr. Randall made a formal request that the Board of Directors grant him authority to remove from the Oklahoma Historical Society facilities certain items of Confederate money that he had once donated to the Society. He said that he needed the loan of this currency to help him in preparing an exhibit; and as soon as he had completed his work he would return the currency to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Mrs. Korn that the request of Mr. Randall be granted. The motion was put and adopted.

Mr. Fraker handed the first copy to be received of the Cumulative Index to Mr. Shirk who stated that Mrs. Looney, who had compiled the Cumulative Index, was entitled to commendation and thanks by the Board.

Mrs. Bowman observed that Mrs. Rella Looney began the work of forming an index for her own use and that the book represents twelve years of love and labor. Mrs. Bowman moved that Mrs. Looney be

given formal commendation of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was unanimously adopted.

The attention of the Board was called by Mr. Shirk to the Civil War Centennial exhibit that had been on display at the Oklahoma State Fair. He said that this exhibit, which had been prepared by the military forces, was made a success by the special pageant put on daily by Major Elwin Hatfield. He recommended that the Board grant a commendation certificate to Major Hatfield. Mr. Allard moved and Mr. Bass seconded a motion commending Major Elwin Hatfield for the contributions he had made to the effectiveness of the Civil War Centennial Commission work. The motion was unanimously adopted.

It was noted by President Shirk that several women were present representing patriotic organizations. He introduced Mrs. Petrie of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Mrs. Petrie stated that the presence of the group was due to their desire that the Confederate Room and Union Room not be closed or discontinued. Several other of the women present spoke expressing the same concern and opinion.

It was explained by President Shirk that no one connected with the Oklahoma Historical Society had suggested the closing of either, or both, the Union and Confederate Room. He stated that the Assistant Curators in those rooms had been placed on a part-time basis, but that the rooms were not being closed. He further stated that such arrangements had enabled the establishment of a more efficient system of operation and the securing of another employee.

Mr. Fraker, the Administrative Secretary of the Society, said that all the changes that had been made had come through specific recommendations that he had made to the Executive Committee. He said he was assuming full responsibility for any and all changes that had been made. He pointed out that there was no full time immediate supervision for the museum which was at least ten times as large in area and materials as either the Confederate Room or the Union Room. He stated that modern museum techniques did not require employees in each and every segment of a museum. Museum staff members, he said, should not spend their time lecturing or talking to visitors in the museums unless such visitors requested information. He pointed out that surveys showed that most visitors to museums prefer not to have someone talk to them while viewing exhibits.

The Administrative Secretary said that one of the greatest needs facing the Historical Society was a receptionist at the main entrance to the building who could not only give directions to visitors but also provide them with descriptive literature along with selling items provided by the Historical Society. He continued by pointing out that such receptionist would also be a typist who could help take the load from the office staff. He stated that within the last five years the clerical work in the Oklahoma Historical Society had more than trebled with no addition to the clerical staff. He said the changes he had recommended were based on the proposition that employees should be assigned to the places and duties where work was being done.

Mr. Phillips commented that the Legislature had not increased the appropriations for the Historical Society but had written the appropriation bill in such a fashion that the Society had greater leeway in apportioning its funds to the various departments and personnel. He expressed the opinion that the Legislature had done this with the

expectation that greater efficiency in the operation of the Oklahoma Historical Society would result.

President Shirk asked for a show of hands among the women representing the patriotic organizations and indicating how many were members of the Society. Only two raised their hands.

It was moved by Mr. Muldrow and seconded by Mr. Mountcastle that the Board of Directors approve the action of the Executive Committee in adopting the schedule of salaries and budget items as submitted by the Administrative Secretary. The motion was put and carried with Dr. Harbour casting a dissenting vote.

It was announced by Judge Johnson that sufficient money had been subscribed to enable the completion of the bust of Sequoyah which was to be unveiled next May at the Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko.

It was requested by Mr. Curtis that Judge Busby and Mr. Allard sit with the committee that had been appointed to prepare the resolution opposing the changing of the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building to the Wiley Post Historical Building.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the Board, the meeting adjourned at 12:25 p.m.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED—OCTOBER 23, 1961

LIBRARY

Poems—Gerald M. Van Dyke
Donor: Gerald M. Van Dyke, Cordell
"The Story of 'Little Town' (Oswego, Kansas) and Its Founder John Matthews"
Donor: W. A. O'Connell, Peoria, Illinois
"Oklahoma" 1961—Harold Keith
Donor: Harold Keith, Norman
2 Lists of Alabama Confederate Soldiers, 40th Regiment Alabama Volunteers
Donor: John C. Cheek, Oklahoma City
"Annual Report 1960" Oklahoma City Fire Department
"Firefighter" August-September, 1961
Donor: Oklahoma City Fire Department
26 copies of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*
Donor: Thomas J. Harrison, Pryor
Sayula Popoluca Texts—Lawrence Clark
Donor: University of Oklahoma Library, Norman
Collection of National Park and National Monument brochures
Donor: Lucyl Shirk, Oklahoma City
Collection of rough field notes of the Indian Territory Survey 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898
36 notebooks
42 letters
Donor: William H. Thorn, Redlands, California
1 Roll Microfilm: 1870 Census of Illinois (Peoria-Pope counties)
Donor: Mrs. Bertha King, Shawnee

Union Mission—Carolyn Sulzer
Donor: Carolyn Sulzer, Bethany Nazarene College
"Sooner 75", 1934
Map of the travels of George Washington
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
Wagar-Wager-Weger Families—Paul W. Prindle
Donor: Paul W. Prindle, Darien, Connecticut
"The Choctaw Indians of Mississippi"—Irwin M. Peithmann
Donor: Rupert Hall, Oklahoma City
"Oklahoma Poetry" October 1961
Reproduction of Coffeyville, Kansas paper October 7, 1892 with account of the Dalton Gang.
Donor: Albert McRill, Oklahoma City
The Chisholm Trail—Sam P. Ridings
41 copies of *The Chronicales of Oklahoma,* 1 Album
Donor: Estate of Millar W. Hickox. Given by Joseph O. Hickox
Civil War Naval Chronology 1861-1865—Naval History Division
Donor: U. S. Navy Department, Washington, D. C.
"Four Firsts in Berks, 1861"—Arthur D. Graeff
Donor: Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, Pa.
"Texas Military History" Volume I, No. 2
Donor: National Guard Association of Texas, Austin, Texas.

NEW MEMBERS
QUARTER JULY 28, 1961 TO OCTOBER 27, 1961

New Annual Members

Helton, David	Ada, Oklahoma
Walker, Dr. Ethel	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Buckles, Mrs. John A.	Dacoma, Oklahoma
Rogers, J. J.	Duncan, Oklahoma
Anderson, Joe	Hugo, Oklahoma
Hughes, Miss Mabel	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Gilliland, Mrs. A. W.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Helmer, Chester Knepper	" " "
Hull, Dick	" " "
Lucas, Laurina	" " "
Stephanou, Virginia	" " "
Tuck, Gary A.	" " "
Wythe, Joe	" " "
Crowder, Mrs. L. H.	" " "
Smith, Frederick James	Shawnee, Oklahoma
Abbott, Mae	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Dewel, Edgar H.	" "
Hickman, Mary M.	" "
Kincaid, Mrs. Pricilla M.	" "
Stroud, Harry A.	" "
Harper, Thomas Arthur	Tuskahoma, Oklahoma
Ellison, Emma J.	Yukon, Oklahoma
Hembree, Kathryn Hesson	Los Angeles, California
Tener, Mrs. Mary Ruth	Miami, Florida
Relph, Geneva Ross	Fredonia, Kansas
Johnson, Milton G.	Silver Springs, Maryland
Stump, Mrs. L. E.	Slater, Missouri
Radnick, George	Bethel Park, Pennsylvania
Welsch, Glenn A.	Austin, Texas
Rogers, Lawrence	Fritch, Texas
Hart, R. M.	Midland, Texas
Munguia, Miss Lupe Jean	Mexico City, Mexico

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $3.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership may be secured upon the payment of $50.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $4.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.00 each plus postage. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

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